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THE AGE OF MABILLON AND MONTFAUCON*

“WHAT is history?” is a question which has puzzled the minds of historians and philosophers and many other kinds of thinkers since before the Greeks. The prophets of Israel converted history into prophecy. Plato extended his argument to the extreme of reason and then reached his ideal climax on the wings of myth.¹ St. Augustine made history a revelation of the will of God. In recent years there has been a growing inclination to regard history in the last analysis as idea. The late Hermann Kantorowicz not long ago wrote that “Men possess thoughts but ideas possess men.”²

Historic unity, the unity of history proper, is to be sought only in the history of universals, that is, in ideas. History is not a compilation of facts. The purpose of the serious historian is to trace the advancement of knowledge; not of all knowledge, but so much of it as is causative of human conduct. For the totality of man's conduct is ultimately determined by the totality of man's knowledge, and the prime movers of human affairs, I think it may be said, are Law and Government, Religion, Literature, and Art. The degree of culture of any country, of any epoch or period, is conditioned by the amount, the direction, and the diffusion of the knowledge of these elements.

If ideas are the criteria of history, it would seem that the sequence of interpretations of history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries formed a great series of periods. The seventeenth century was *the* age of historical scholarship, notably in France; the eighteenth century was the age of rationalism in France and to a less degree in England. In Germany the *Aufklärung* began with Leibnitz and ended with Immanuel Kant. The Germans may be said to have put philosophy into

*Professor Thompson had completed his Presidential Address several months before his death on September 30. The preparation of the manuscript for printing was done by loyal younger associates.

¹ William Temple, *Nature, Man, and God* (London, 1935), pp. 434-36.

² Max Lerner, *Ideas are Weapons* (New York, 1939), p. 3.

history. It is, however, with French historical scholarship in the seventeenth century that I would deal in this discourse.

Interesting and informing as the Renaissance was, it was not eminently critical in its historical thought. Modern critical and interpretative historiography had its inception during the Reformation and Counter Reformation. Lutheranism and Calvinism were attacks on the historical foundation of the Roman Church. Historical criticism became a Protestant weapon, and documents were used as missiles. "Criticism was the problem bequeathed succeeding times by the Reformation. . . . The sixteenth century . . . had made an appeal to history . . . and invited a scrutiny of the historical antecedents."³ What the age needed was less knowledge than mental discipline, not so much science as a scientific habit of thought, not mere erudition but better scholarship.

The Roman Church was slow to take alarm over the Protestant appeal to history. It vainly endeavored to confine the dispute to questions of theology. Finally, however, the historical attack became so effective that Rome was compelled to fight history with history, to combat fire with fire. Since the Reformation was an appeal to history, the Counter Reformation was forced to use the same instrument, with incalculable importance to the development of critical historical scholarship.⁴

The politics and wars of the Reformation era curiously promoted and facilitated this new interest in history by bringing to light thousands of documents and other manuscript materials hitherto inaccessible and unknown. The dissolution of the monasteries in England under Henry VIII, the Peasants' War and the War of the Schmalkaldic League in Germany, the Huguenot wars in France, which were accompanied by the pillage of monastic and cathedral libraries, threw upon the market vast quantities of manuscripts and other documents which could often be bought for a song. Scholars and book collectors soon awakened to the opportunity and began to salvage these treasures. The libraries of the new Protestant universities in Germany in the sixteenth century were almost wholly formed out of the loot of the monasteries.⁵ Manuscripts from Corbie and Fleury found their way into the libraries of De Thou, Pithou, Duchesne, and other French scholars of the sixteenth century. This condition was continued into the seven-

³ Mark Pattison, *Essays* (2 vols., Oxford, 1889), II, 225.

⁴ G. Monod, "La réforme catholique", *Revue historique*, CXXI (1916), 281-315.

⁵ G. A. E. Bogeng, *Die grossen Bibliophilen: Geschichte der Büchersammler und ihrer Sammlungen* (3 vols., Leipzig, 1922), III, 113-19.

teenth century. Mazarin's first great collection was scattered when the mob sacked his palace during the Fronde. The civil war in England saw the pillage of many an ecclesiastical library and the collections in the great country houses of royalist nobles. Even Oxford and Cambridge suffered. In Germany during the 'Thirty Years' War, Gustavus Adolphus swept libraries into his grasp as a reaper binds the sheaves. Prague was almost stripped of books and manuscripts.⁶ And who has not heard of Tilly's seizure of the rich library of Heidelberg University, which was given to the pope?

The result of war and plunder made possible historical study in many centers, but it was France that pioneered in this new historical research. The initiative was taken by Pierre Pithou (1539-96), of a distinguished family of French legists, a friend of the historian De Thou, who with him shared the glory of historical scholarship in the reign of Henry IV. Pithou's dream of collecting and editing the sources of the history of France in the Middle Ages was later realized by the Benedictines of St. Maur.⁷

Pithou, however, was not alone in initiating the idea of collecting and editing documents. He shares that honor with André Duchesne (1584-1640), who was an indefatigable collector of manuscripts in a time when the French monasteries, as the English ones earlier, had suffered sack of their treasures and books by the ravages of the Huguenot wars. Part of his enormous collection of manuscripts passed into the possession of Colbert; part of it is preserved as the Collection Duchesne, in fifty-nine huge bound volumes, at the Bibliothèque nationale. Duchesne published a mere tithe of his enormous accumulations. He projected a gigantic work on the history of France in twenty-four folio volumes. The first fourteen volumes were to contain the writings of all the great historians of France from Gregory of Tours to the end of the fifteenth century. Ten additional tomes were to be devoted to the history of the provinces of France. The only part of the

⁶ See O. Walde, *Storhetidens litterära krigsbyten, en kulturhistorisk-bibliografisk studie* (2 vols., Uppsala, 1916-20); R. Ehwald, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XVIII (1901), 434-63; C. P. Cooper, *An Account of the Most Important Public Records of Great Britain* (2 vols., London, 1832, Record Com.), I, 51. Isak Collijn's *Katalog der Inkunabeln der Kgl. Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Uppsala* (Uppsala, 1907) reveals that almost every book among 500 was part of the "Swedish loot".

⁷ For a complete list of his works see *La grande encyclopédie* (Paris, 1886-1902), XXVI, 992. He wrote a great number of legal works, notably his edition of the *Leges Visigothorum* (1579). In classical literature he was the first who revealed the *Fables* of Phaedrus to the world (1596); he also edited Juvenal, Persius, and the *Pervigilium Veneris* (1585).

first series ever issued was the *Historiae Francorum scriptores ad Pipinum usque regem*, which was completed in five volumes by his son after his father's death in a carriage accident in 1640. The only part of the provincial series ever published was the *Historiae Normannorum scriptores antiqui* (1619), in five volumes, which form Duchesne's first and greatest historical work. The volumes were published without prolegomena or notes. As texts these have been indispensable to all students of Norman history until the nineteenth century, when new and critical editions of the Norman chroniclers began to supplant them. Duchesne enjoyed the favor of Richelieu, a native of the same province as himself, by whom he was appointed historiographer and geographer to the king. He may be truly called the founder of French historical scholarship.⁸

In methodology, French scholarship also led the way in Jean Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1566), the earliest manual of the kind.⁹ Chronology at the same time was put upon a scientific basis by J. J. Scaliger (1540-1609), whose *Thesaurus temporum* (1st ed., 1583) was inspired by his examination and reconstruction of the *Eusebian Chronicle*. "Scaliger's great works in historical criticism", says Mark Pattison,¹⁰ "outstripped any power of appreciation which the succeeding age possessed. . . . Only a scholar of comprehensive knowledge, here and there one . . . was capable of measuring the stride of Scaliger. . . . [He was] the founder of historical criticism". His correspondence was as wide as Protestant Europe. Camden sent him a copy of his *Britannia* in 1594. In England, which had few Roman inscriptions, Scaliger was chiefly interested in libraries and was disappointed to find so few Greek works. But he was no dry-as-dust pedant. He was struck with the absence in England of seignorial jurisdiction; the literary charm of the border ballads; the beauty of Mary

⁸ The principal works of André Duchesne are *Les antiquités et recherches de la grandeur et majesté des rois de France* (Paris, 1608), *Les antiquités et recherches des villes, châteaux, etc., de toute la France* (Paris, 1610), *Histoire d'Angleterre, d'Écosse, et d'Irlande* (Paris, 1614), *Histoire des papes jusqu'à Paul V* (Paris, 1619), *Histoire des rois, ducs, et comtes de Bourgogne et d'Arles* (Paris, 1619-28). Besides these Duchesne published a great number of genealogical histories of illustrious French families, of which the best is said to be that of the house of Montmorency. His *Lives of the French Cardinals and of the Saints of France* have been published by the Bollandists, Mabillon, and others. He published a translation of the *Satires* of Juvenal and editions of the works of Abélard, Alain Chartier, and Étienne Pasquier.

⁹ Emil Menke-Glückert, *Die Geschichtsschreibung der Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 106-21; Ernst Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* (6th ed., Leipzig, 1908), pp. 217-20.

¹⁰ *Essays*, I, 132-34.

Stuart; the use of coal instead of wood in the north; the laziness of the fellows of Oxford and Cambridge.¹¹

French legists and antiquarians also had their share in promoting the new historical scholarship. The great Cujacius's *Commentaries on Roman Law* were published in 1578. Denis Gothofredus or Godefroy l'Ancien (1549-1621) edited an imposing array of works or collections of laws—Roman, feudal, ecclesiastical—a labor which his son, Jacques Godefroy (1580-1652), continued. His magnum opus is his edition of the *Codex Theodosianus* in six volumes, on which he labored for thirty years. The "paratitla" of his work have commanded the admiration of every student of Roman history from that time to the present. Gibbon, Mommsen, and Dill used it without stint.¹²

Such is the historical and bibliographical background of this Age of Erudition. It was an honorable heritage.

The intense devotion, the tireless application, the prodigiously productive capacity of the French historical scholars of the seventeenth century baffle the modern student's understanding, even when it is remembered that there were then no newspapers, no periodicals, no fiction to dissipate the scholar's time and attention; that the common subjects of education were much less than now; that public lectures and the telephone and radio did not distract the scholar's mind; that he required only one language, Latin—or Greek in addition if he was a classicist or a theologian—in order to keep abreast of the world's scholarship. Moreover, this wonderful scholarship was pursued without knowledge of the governments for the most part and entirely independently of governmental direction. The scholar was free from pol-

¹¹ Scaliger's removal to Leyden in 1590 to succeed Lipsius, who had turned Catholic, is a landmark in sixteenth century scholarship. See the *Autobiography of Joseph Scaliger*, translated into English by G. W. Robinson, with selections from Scaliger's letters, his testament, and the funeral orations by Daniel Heinsius and Dominicus Baudius (Cambridge, 1927). For further information see Jacob Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger* (Berlin, 1855), reviewed at length in the *Quarterly Review*, CVIII (1860), 34-81; Pattison, *Essays*, Vol. I, Nos. vi-vii, and consult the index of the same author's *Isaac Casaubon, 1559-1614* (2d ed., Oxford, 1892); John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1903-1908), II, 199-204; and Eug. and Ém. Haag, *La France protestante* (10 vols., Paris and Geneva, 1846-59), VII, 1-26.

¹² The Godefroys, father and son, were Huguenots. The former was professor of law in Heidelberg University from 1600 to 1621, when he was driven out by Tilly's sack of Heidelberg, in which he lost his library. Jacques Godefroy was born at Geneva and spent his life there. His brother, Theodore Godefroy (1580-1649), forsook Protestantism and became a Catholic and resided in France, where he was appointed royal historiographer in 1617 and employed in an ambassadorial capacity on several occasions. He died at Münster in 1649. He was a copious historian. For complete lists of the works of all three Godefroys see *La grande encyclopédie*, XVIII, 1145-47.

itics and the influence of political control. Even the world of letters and science hardly touched the world of historical research.

A striking fact to observe in this new era of scholarship is the co-operative nature of much of the labor. Group organization of scholarship was widely prevalent. This in itself stamps the age as one widely different from the Renaissance, in which individualism was so dominant a characteristic.¹³

The earliest example of such co-operative historical scholarship is the association of the Bollandist Fathers, a society of Jesuit scholars.¹⁴ In the first period of its history (1540-90) the Society of Jesus had conquered the hearts of men by sentimentalizing and idealizing the religious life. In its second period (1590-1715) it made a magnificent

¹³ The best brief accounts are found in Auguste Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1901-1906), V, clxx-clxx; Ed. Fueter, *Histoire de l'historiographie moderne* (Paris, 1914), pp. 381-411, with excellent bibliographies. The best accounts in English are G. N. Clark, *The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1929), chap. xvi, and Preserved Smith, *History of Modern Culture: The Great Renewal* (New York, 1934), chap. vi. The intellectual atmosphere of the new age is analyzed and interpreted in the admirable work by Paul Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne, 1680-1715* (3 vols., Paris, 1935). See especially J. Franklin Jameson, "The Age of Erudition", Phi Beta Kappa address at the University of Chicago, June 12, 1905, printed in the *University Record*, Vol. X, No. 1 (June 22, 1905). This remarkable essay by the late dean of American historians has not been reprinted and is practically inaccessible.

¹⁴ The literature on the Bollandists and the *Acta sanctorum* is very large. See the article by Ch. De Smedt in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1913), II, 630-39, with copious bibliography; Peter Guilday, *Church Historians* (New York, 1926), pp. 190-211, on "Bollandus", with bibliography; the article on Bollandus in the *Biographie nationale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1866-1919), I, 630-41; Hippolyte Delehaye, *À travers trois siècles: L'œuvre des Bollandistes, 1615-1915* (Brussels, 1921), trans. into English as *The Work of the Bollandists through Three Centuries, 1615-1915* (Princeton, 1922); *id.*, *Les légendes hagiographiques* (3rd rev. ed., Brussels, 1927), trans. from the 2d ed. by Mrs. V. M. Crawford as *The Legends of the Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography* (London and New York, 1907); F. Baix, "Le centenaire de la restauration du Bollandisme", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXXIV (1938), 270-96; De Smedt's essay on the founders of the Bollandists in the [Mélanges] *À Godefroid Kurth* (Liège, 1899), I, 297 ff.; "The Bollandist *Acta sanctorum*", *Catholic World*, XXVII (1878), 756-65, and XXVIII (1878-79), 81-87; Aurelio Palmieri, "The Bollandists", *Catholic Historical Review*, New Series, III (1923), 341-67 and 517-29; Robert Lechat, "Les *Acta sanctorum* des Bollandistes", *ibid.*, VI (1920-21), 334-42; Sabine Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints* (new rev. ed., 16 vols., Edinburgh, 1914), Vol. I, introduction; H. Thurston, in *The Tablet*, Apr. 8, 1922; B. Aubé, "Les travaux des Bollandistes", *Revue des deux mondes*, LXXIII (1885), 169-99; Dom Cardinal Jean Baptiste Pitra, *Études sur la collection des Actes des Saints par les RR. PP. Jésuites Bollandistes* (Paris, 1850); Charles Dejob, *De l'influence du Concile de Trente sur la littérature et les beaux-arts chez les peuples catholiques* (Paris, 1884), chap. III; Ernest Renan, *Études d'histoire religieuse* (7th ed., Paris, 1864), pp. 301-15; Delehaye, *La méthode hagiographique* (Brussels, 1934); G. F. Stokes, "The Bollandists", *Contemporary Review*, XLIII (1883), 69-84; F. C. Burkitt and others, *Franciscan Essays*, Vol. II (Manchester, 1932).

effort to capture a great field of historical scholarship. Until the seventeenth century no attempt had been made to apply the canons of criticism to that vast body of medieval literature known as the *Acta sanctorum* or *Lives of the Saints*. Previous workers in this field had been industrious compilers and pious commentators but were devoid of critical spirit or critical method.

In the course of centuries past the lives of the saints had become embellished with legendary matter and encrusted with apocryphal anecdotes and often with silly fables which had provoked the derision of humanists and Protestants. To rescue the lives of the saints from triviality and contempt and to establish their true nature and value as a great body of religious and historical literature were the purposes of the Bollandists. This stupendous project, begun by Roseweyde and Bollandus and continued by Henschen and Papebroche, is still in progress after three hundred years and has reached sixty-five folio volumes to date.

We pass from the Jesuit Bollandists to the Benedictines of St. Maur.

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century a new monastic reform movement was initiated almost everywhere in Europe but most of all in France. The reforms of Bursfeld in Germany, of Valladolid in Spain, of Monte Cassino in Italy, and the Congregation of the Feuillants in France are examples of the new spirit. The movement was most successful in France.

The Congregation of St. Maur, like the Society of Jesus, was a product of the Counter Reformation. It began in the abbey of St. Vannes in Verdun and by 1614 had reached such impressive dimensions that the French clergy in the States-General of that year recommended the application of the same discipline to the monasteries of all France. In that time the Three Bishoprics pertained to France, although ducal Lorraine was still a part of the German empire. This distinction, however, did not prevent many of the French abbeys from voluntarily adopting the reform. It was thought expedient, however, to establish a "congregation" independent of Lorraine, a measure which was approved by royal authority in 1618 and by Pope Gregory V in 1621. The congregation was named in honor of St. Maur, a favorite disciple of St. Benedict who had founded the abbey of Glanfeuil on the Loire, called after him St. Maur-sur-Loire, in the Merovingian age. In and near Paris the Congregation of St. Maur had three houses, the Blancs Manteaux, St. Germain des Prés, and St. Denis. By 1720 the congregation comprised 180 abbeys and priories, grouped in six provinces under

the administration of a general who was appointed for life. But only the Paris group was distinguished for scholarship.¹⁵

The restoration of Benedictine scholarship, which had been the glory of Benedictinism in the Middle Ages, was the initial purpose of the Maurists and was initiated by Dom Tarisse, who became general in 1630. The movement encountered bitter opposition from the Trappists, who contended that piety, contemplation, prayer, and worship were the whole duty of monastic life. They were a modern offshoot of the Cistercians, who had never been advocates of higher education or scholarship. This attack was answered by Dom Mabillon in his *Tractatus de studiis monasticis*, a masterly demonstration of the virtue of scholarship.¹⁶

In the seventeenth century alone 105 writers may be distinguished amid this devoted circle of scholars. Their new historical research found its sources in the vast collections of documents possessed by the order

¹⁵ Most of the literature pertaining to the Benedictines of St. Maur has to do with Mabillon. The following are general references. Dom Edmond Martène, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur*, new ed. by Dom G. Charvin (5 vols., Ligugé, 1928-31); Émile Chavin de Malan, *Histoire de d. Mabillon et de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur* (Paris, 1843), and review of the same in the *Dublin Review*, XXI (1846), 217-46; Emmanuel de Broglie, *Mabillon et la société de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés* (2 vols., Paris, 1888), and a review of the same by Lord Acton in the *English Historical Review*, III (1888), 585-92, reprinted in his *Historical Essays and Studies* (London, 1907), pp. 459-71, in which he has written that "the amiable weaknesses of biographers appear . . . in admiration of the monk, not of the scholar. The worth of the book consists in extracts from the archives of the abbey of St. Germain." See also A. Giry's notice in *Moyen âge*, I (1888), 161-71; Gustave Lanson, "L'érudition monastique aux xvii^e et xviii^e siècles", *Hommes et livres* (Paris, 1895), pp. 25 ff.; Alphonse Dantier, *Rapports sur la correspondance inédite des Bénédictins de Saint-Maur* (Paris, 1857), comprising 115 letters of D'Achery, Mabillon, Montfaucon, Durand, Durban, Martène, Massuet, and Bucelin, from 1663 to 1733; Antoine Valéry, ed., *Correspondance inédite de Mabillon et de Montfaucon avec l'Italie* (3 vols., Paris, 1846), and a review of this entitled "The French Benedictines", in the *Edinburgh Review*, LXXXIX (1849), 1-47; A. Ettinger, "Correspondance des Bénédictins de Saint-Maur avec le Monte Cassin", a register of 133 letters, from 1671 to 1737, published in *Rivista storica benedettina*, Jan.-Feb., 1913; Martène, *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur* (2 vols., Paris, 1717-24), an account of a tour in search of material in France, Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Countries; Ph. Tanizy de Larroque, "Les Bénédictins de Saint-Maur à Saint-Germain des Prés", *Revue des questions historiques*, LXI (1897), 536-48; Joseph Urban Bergkamp, *Dom Jean Mabillon and the Benedictine Historical School of Saint-Maur* (Washington, 1928); Sir James Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* (2 vols., London, 1850), I, 387-430.

¹⁶ This work was originally written in the French language, a fact significant of the popular appeal it was intended to make, and was translated into Latin by Joseph Porta and printed at Venice in three parts, 1729, 1730, 1732. This Latin version was widely circulated in Italy and Germany. The original French edition is a rare work, and the Latin edition is not common.

throughout France. These "new" Benedictines were not mere antiquaries. First and last they were historians, who, with the aid of the auxiliary sciences of paleography, diplomatic, and chronology, published many new documents and re-edited many old works.

The first scholar-monk who attained eminence was Dom Luc d'Achery (1609-85), "the father of Maurist erudition", who immortalized himself by the *Spicilegium* (Paris, 1655-67), a collection of thirteen quarto volumes of original and unpublished medieval documents, which he meticulously edited, although his health was so frail that for forty-five years he was unable to leave the infirmary of the abbey. In the latter years of the preparation of these immortal tomes D'Achery was assisted by a young member of the congregation named Jean Mabillon, destined to become not only the shining light of the Maurists, but, it may be said, the greatest historical scholar of the seventeenth century.

Jean Mabillon was born of peasant stock in 1632 in a village in Champagne.¹⁷ After studying at the University of Reims for the six-year course he entered the diocesan seminary in 1650; in 1651 he received the tonsure, and in 1652 the university granted him the degree of master of arts. He then entered the Abbey of St. Rémy at Reims, a house of the reformed Maurist Congregation, but did not remain there long due to ill health, which made it necessary that he move to one of the more rural houses of St. Maur. Undoubtedly his mental and emotional interests in the study of the past were stimulated by this early travel and study in the ancient monasteries. Later, the Congregation of St. Maur, the intellectual life of his country, and finally, to some extent, the philosophical ideas of his age exerted an even greater influence on his historical work.

We see indications of the working of the first of these influences, that of the monasteries where he lived, when Mabillon visited at St. Rémy the old church famous for its connection with the consecration

¹⁷ The literature on Mabillon is large. In addition to the more general works on the Maurists cited in n. 15 above, see Fueter, pp. 387-89; the sketch by Mabillon's friend, Dom Thierry Ruinart, *Abrégé de la vie de Dom Jean Mabillon* (Paris, 1709); *Mélanges et documents publiés à l'occasion du 2^e centenaire de la mort de Mabillon* (Ligugé and Paris, 1908), with articles by leading scholars and a bibliography by H. Stein, pp. xxxv-xlviii; the articles on Mabillon in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, 479-81, and *La grande encyclopédie*, XXII, 853; Sandys, II, 293-98; Richard Rosenmund, *Die Fortschritte der Diplomatik seit Mabillon* (Munich and Leipzig, 1897), pp. 9-13; Ph. Denis, "Dom Mabillon et sa méthode historique", *Revue Mabillon*, VI (1910-11), 1-64; Dom J. M. Besse, "Les correspondants cisterciens de Dom Luc d'Achery et de Dom Mabillon", *ibid.*, VIII (1912-13), 311-25; and other articles in this journal. There is a long bibliography in Bergkamp, pp. 116-19.

of the kings of France and the cemeteries filled with the remains of the first Christians of Gaul. At Nogent, where he was sent in 1656, he studied the tombstones of the church of the monastery, at one time "unpaving almost the entire church in the hope of finding the tomb of Guibert, the most celebrated abbot of Nogent". After being at Corbie for a time, where he profited by the use of its fine library, he was moved to St. Denis in 1663. Here, in this sanctuary of the French church and by the graves of the French kings, his interest in Christian antiquity and history appeared in full force. At this time Mabillon assisted Dom Claude Chantelon in editing the works of St. Bernard, a labor which was completed by Mabillon at St. Germain des Prés after the death of Dom Chantelon.

At St. Germain Mabillon had the incalculable advantage of having constant contact with the most distinguished historical scholars not only in France but in Europe. Dom Butler in his article on Mabillon has charmingly described the life of these accomplished scholars.

Their tastes and studies were shared by a few members of other religious orders in Paris and by a few secular priests and laymen; and on Sunday afternoons a number of these learned men would attend vespers at the Abbey and then adjourn to a room in the monastery to exchange news and views with the monks on all matters relating to ecclesiastical or mediaeval learning, antiquities, and art. . . . There used to be seen Du Cange, Baluze, Cotelier, Menestrier, Renaudot, Fleury, Tillemont, Pagi—to name only a few.¹⁸

Mabillon's historical work, marked off rather carefully by the plans of the Maurist order, covered the centuries from St. Benedict through St. Bernard, centuries "during which the Benedictine order was the foremost association in Christendom". In his writings he made several types of contributions to the science of history; his work included historical accounts, contributions to the field of diplomatics, ecclesiastical, dogmatic and liturgical studies, and archaeological work.

The first work of Mabillon, and one which showed his aptitude for historical research and his ability as a critic, appeared in 1667. It was *S. Bernardi Abbatis primi Clarevallensis opera omnia*. Prepared in three years, the edition was accepted as the work of a master. The prefaces and commentaries gave evidence of profound knowledge of the history of the twelfth century.

After this work had been published, Mabillon turned to the task for which he had been called to St. Germain des Prés, the arranging and editing of the *Acta* of the Benedictine saints, which had been collected

¹⁸ *Downside Review*, XII (1893), 119-20.

by D'Achery for a general history of the Benedictine order. The first volume of the *Acta sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti* appeared in 1668; the other eight volumes were published between this time and 1701. They cover the period between the life of St. Benedict and the end of the eleventh century. The prefaces were written by Mabillon. In them he explained the chief events of each century (each tome of the *Acta* deals with a Benedictine century); he established the correct chronology of the popes and kings; he discussed points of interest about monasticism and the papacy; he cleared up such myths as that of Popess Joan and called attention to changes in religious customs. These prefaces were printed separately in a quarto volume of over six hundred pages in Rouen in 1732. Mabillon's *Acta* of the Benedictine saints differed from the plan of the *Acta sanctorum* of the Bollandists, which arranged the lives according to the saints' days of the year. The Benedictine *Acta sanctorum* adhere to chronological order, certainly a method better suited to historical study. The prefaces were a revelation of critical and interpretative insight. Early historians of the order had claimed some eighty Benedictine saints, but Mabillon would allow no more than twenty-five of these to have been Benedictines. Protest was made to the general chapter, and Mabillon was called upon to vindicate his historical method. He replied with a remarkable memoir, saying that he was quite willing not to write history at all but that if he wrote he *must* tell the truth; that the interests of history and real edification were the same. Never again was he challenged within his own congregation, though he had yet to encounter formidable criticism.

The *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti* are entirely a historical account. They are based on the *Acta* and other documents that Mabillon and his friends had gradually collected in further travels. The first volume was published in 1703 after ten years of preparation. It gives a history of the birth and development of the Benedictine order from the end of the fifth century to the year 700. Volumes II, III, and IV appeared from 1704 to 1707, the year of Mabillon's death. This unfinished work was carried on through two more volumes by several colleagues and successors. This brought the history of the order down to the middle of the twelfth century. This period was the limit of Mabillon's knowledge. The words of the Abbé de Longuerue, one of the scholars who used to frequent the Sunday afternoon meetings at St. Germain, are true: "Le Père Mabillon savoit fort bien le 7, le 8, le 9, le 10, et le 11 siècles; mais il ne savoit rien ni en deça, ni au delà."

In the interval between the *Acta* and the *Annales*, Mabillon had pre-

pared his greatest work, the *De re diplomatica* (1681). The work had a curious origin. Papebroche, one of the great Bollandist scholars, had been impressed with the uncertainties in medieval charters and title deeds. In Luxembourg he had discovered an old charter attributed to Dagobert I and become convinced of its spurious nature. On the basis of a study of this and other Merovingian documents, Papebroche then published a famous dissertation in the Bollandist *Acta sanctorum* which, among other things, attacked the authenticity of the fundamental charters of the great Benedictine abbey of St. Denis. The Benedictine order everywhere, especially the Maurists, were incensed, for they regarded Papebroche's work as a reflection on their integrity and an attack on their property rights. Mabillon was delegated to frame a reply. He wisely decided not to write the usual "justification" but to keep the defense on a purely scholarly and scientific level. The *De re diplomatica libri VI* founded the science of diplomatics and Latin paleography and remains to this day a classic of its kind. Papebroche, with touching humility, was among the first to congratulate its author.

Already, even before the *De re diplomatica*, Mabillon had made several short trips outside of France in search of manuscripts. His great voyages were made in 1683 and in 1685-86, the first to Germany, the second to Italy. The king defrayed the expenses of both journeys, and he was commissioned to buy books and manuscripts for the royal library. These journeys were a sort of "progress". He was lionized by princes, cardinals, bishops, and abbots. But Mabillon kept his head amid all this pomp. His lifelong friend and biographer, Dom Ruinart, describes his mode of traveling, often on foot with a modest pack on his back. He entered Rome at five o'clock in the morning purposely to avoid the grand meeting which his friends would have staged for him. Wherever possible he lodged in a religious house. The fruits of these two journeys were the *Musaeum Germanicum* and the *Musaeum Italicum*. An incident which occurred at Munich in 1683 sheds light on the simple life at St. Germain. When asked if the Bavarian ruler's palace was as grand as that at Versailles, Mabillon replied that he had never seen Versailles. Later, it may be said, he was introduced to Louis XIV by Bossuet and Le Tellier, the archbishop of Reims.

For all his great abilities Mabillon had his limitations. It is too much, perhaps, to expect of him that interpretative analysis of character with which we are familiar today. But even for his age he had limitations. He accepted without hesitation what he found in an authentic source, the genuineness of which could not easily be rejected

on paleographical, chronological, or geographical grounds. He fell short of the modern requirements of internal criticism. He had little conception of the principle of "authority" in use of a source other than the evidence of external criticism. He failed to perceive the importance of the source of a source. Nevertheless, in spite of defects Mabillon, as Lord Acton has written, "belongs to the family of pioneers, and . . . is one of the best known names in the line of discoverers from Valla . . . to Morgan . . . [and] although disciplined and repressed by the strict reform of Saint Maur, he rose above all his brethren to be, as an historian, eminently solid and trustworthy, as a critic the first in the world".¹⁹

Mabillon died in 1707. His successor at St. Germain des Prés was Dom Ruinart, from whom we have a life of Mabillon, an edition of Gregory of Tours, and his most important work, the *Acta primorum martyrum sincera et selecta*. Ruinart died in 1709. The Congregation of St. Maur was at the height of its scholarship and influential favor in the middle of Louis XIV's reign. Colbert, Le Tellier, Bossuet, and Fénelon were its patrons and well-wishers.

What Mabillon did for the history of the Latin Church in the Middle Ages, that Montfaucon did for the history of the Greek Church. In his own field of scholarship he was as original and as great as Mabillon. Bernard de Montfaucon was born in the department of the Aube in 1655 and died in 1741.²⁰ He belonged to a noble family of Languedoc; in 1673, at the age of eighteen, he entered the army and served for two years in Germany. Among his papers preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale is a short autobiography, in which Montfaucon vivaciously relates how he came to be a scholar. As a boy in the paternal chateau at Roquetaillade he read all the books on which he could lay his hands, "surtout les historiens que je pus trouver". Among these was a sixteenth century translation of Plutarch's *Lives* by Amyot, "who made Plutarch speak the French language" in a way that had fascinated Montaigne (*Essays*, Bk. II, 10) a century before it charmed Montfaucon. Another book was a French translation of Osorius's *Navigations and Conquests of the Portuguese in the East Indies*. He borrowed all the books he could, and a fortunate accident supplied him with

¹⁹ Acton, *Historical Essays*, p. 460.

²⁰ De Broglie, *La société de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés au dix-huitième siècle: Bernard de Montfaucon et les Bernardins, 1715-1750* (2 vols., Paris, 1891), a better work than his life of Mabillon. See also the article by Louis Bréhier in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, 539-40; *La grande encyclopédie*, XXIV, 236; Sandys, II, 385-89; *Edinburgh Rev.*, LXXXIX, 1-47, and XCIV (1851), 12-13.

many others. A relative of the family who had lost his fortune came to live at the chateau and brought a chest of books with him, which was stowed away in the garret. One day in rummaging around the curious lad discovered this chest and found that a rat had gnawed a corner of the box and that he could see papers and books within. He pried the lid off and unveiled a rich collection of books, most of them of a historical and geographical nature. "Je lisais", he relates, "jusqu'à sept ou huit heures par jour les histoires de tous les pays, le livre des états et empires du monde, tous les histoires de France; les autres histoires en toutes langues, en italien et en espagnol." Disillusioned of the world as a result of his experience in the army, Montfaucon joined the Maurist house in Toulouse in 1675, and in 1687 he was transferred to St. Germain des Prés. There Montfaucon began to edit those magnificent editions of the works of Athanasius (1698), Origen (1713), and St. John Chrysostom (1738), the last in thirteen folio volumes, which cost him twenty-three years of labor and were not superseded until the nineteenth century. Meanwhile during these years Montfaucon—to use his own words—"having finished the edition of St. Athanasius and being taught by experience that there was no possibility of perfecting the Greek fathers without searching the libraries of Italy", in 1698 went to Italy. He was gone for three years. The fruit of that journey was not only a rich store of new manuscripts but his own precious *Diarium Italicum*, a classic in the history of European scholarship and coveted object of possession by many bibliophiles.²¹ The results of this tour were embodied in two volumes of fragments of the Greek fathers in 1707.

The greatest product of this Italian journey, however, was Montfaucon's *Palaeographia Graeca* (1708), which did for medieval Greek paleography what Mabillon had done for medieval Latin paleography. In the preparation of this monumental work Montfaucon examined 11,630 manuscripts. His next labor was to compile the catalogue of the library of the Duc de Coislin, the prince-bishop of Metz, the whole of which was bequeathed to St. Germain and is now in the Bibliothèque nationale. His next excursion was into the field of archaeology, into which Mabillon had not hitherto ventured.

Archaeology had been pursued more as a pastime or hobby in the

²¹ Paris, 1702. An English translation appeared in 1712. *The Travels of the Learned Father Montfaucon from Paris through Italy*. Containing 1. An Account of many Antiquities . . . 2. The Delights of Italy . . . 3. Collections of Rarities . . . Made English from the Paris edition, with cuts. The book was dedicated to Cosmo III, grand duke of Tuscany, whose kindness to him Montfaucon acknowledged with gratitude.

Renaissance, but it did not become a scholarly science until the seventeenth century. In France it began with Nicholas Claude Fabre de Peiresc (1580-1637), the first to study monuments from the historical point of view, who was followed by Jacques Spon (1647-85). La Petite Académie, out of which sprang in 1701 the Académie des Inscriptions, was established in 1663.²²

The discovery of the tomb of the Merovingian king Childeric in Belgium in 1635 had stimulated interest in medieval archaeology, and the great French minister Colbert had cherished the plan of having a great work prepared giving an account of all the ancient Roman monuments in France with illustrative plates. Montfaucon more than fulfilled Colbert's dream. His *L'antiquité expliquée*, "a vast treasury of classical antiquities", illustrated with 1,120 large copperplate engravings and containing thousands of smaller illustrations, in fifteen huge volumes, was published by subscription between 1719 and 1724. In this great work Montfaucon "reproduced, methodically grouped, all the ancient monuments that might be of use in the study of religion, domestic customs, material life, military institutions and funeral rites of the ancients".²³ According to Sandys, "within two months the first edition of 1,800 copies, or 18,000 volumes, was sold off, and a new edition of 2,200 printed in the same year. All the fifteen volumes were translated into English. The Russian nobleman, Prince Kourakin, had a complete set, sumptuously bound, and packed in a special case to accompany him on his travels in Italy".²⁴

In 1739 Montfaucon endeared himself to all librarians and bibliophiles by producing in two folio volumes his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum*, which included all the catalogues of libraries that he had examined over forty years. In 1731 he was gathering materials for a projected work on French archaeology, the second part of which was to deal with the churches of France. In December of that year he read a paper on the subject before the Academy of Inscriptions; a foreign member who was present asked Montfaucon how old he was; he answered: "In thirteen more years I shall be a hundred." Two days afterwards the last of the truly great scholars of the Congregation of

²² For an account of the development of French archaeology in the seventeenth century see an article by the late Salomon Reinach in *Revue celtique* for April, 1898, and consult Sandys, II, index.

²³ Bréhier, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. X.

²⁴ Sandys, II, 387. Montfaucon's work supplementary to this work, *Les monuments de la monarchie française* (5 vols.), appeared between 1729 and 1733, but it is much inferior to his previous work.

St. Maur was dead. He was buried in the same abbey-church which contains the ashes of Mabillon.

One of the most winning figures among the inmates of St. Maur, who shares a reputation for charm with D'Achery, was Dom Felibien (1666-1719), who spent his life in the composition of a *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de St. Denis* (1706). Although Colbert had taken cognizance of these scholar-monks of St. Germain, Louis XIV had not and was hardly expected to do so. But a history of St. Denis interested him, for there were the tombs of his ancestors, and it was out of a dislike at having to look upon this place, the sight of which affected him unpleasantly, from the palace of St. Germain above the Seine, that the king built the palace at Versailles. Accordingly Dom Felibien received a summons to court, whither no other brother had hitherto been save Mabillon.

So much of the labor of the Benedictines of St. Maur was devoted to monastic literature that one might assume that all their labors dealt with the monastic side of ecclesiastical history. This is not the case. For another of their achievements was the *Gallia Christiana in provincias distributa* (16 vols., Paris, 1715-65).²⁵ It was interrupted by the French Revolution and continued and completed by the Académie des Inscriptions in the nineteenth century. Ughelli's *Italia sacra* had set the example for this work. It is the one instance in which Italian scholarship influenced that of France.

These scholars, and others like them, along with Molière and La Fontaine and Boileau and Racine, and Pascal and the Jansenist Port Royalists—how few men of science there were!—made the real glory of the reign of the Grand Monarque, a fact which Voltaire was the first to point out. What consummate scholars they were, and how modest! Compared with these men, how paltry and frivolous the figures of the court seem.

Other scholars there were in France of this time who were not of the fold of St. Germain des Prés, some of whom were as great as they. Port Royal was prevaillingly given to philosophy and theology but had one historian of eminence. This was Le Nain de Tillemont (1637-98),²⁶

²⁵ Contents analyzed in Alfred Franklin, *Les sources de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1877), 465-85. For a historical account see L.-F. Guérin, *Rev. Ques. Hist.*, XI (1872), 199-212.

²⁶ There is an old life of Tillemont by Michel Tronchay, *Idée de la vie et de l'esprit de M. L. de Tillemont* (Nancy, 1706). The best account of his life and works is to be found in a series of articles in the *Journal des savants*, 1851, p. 625; 1852, pp. 316 and 386; 1853, pp. 503 and 703; 1854, p. 47.

of whom Gibbon said that "his inimitable accuracy almost assumes the character of genius". At an early age he began to make those vast accumulations which culminated in his two monumental works: *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, which extends to 513 A.D., in sixteen volumes (1693-1712), and his equally learned *Histoire des empereurs et des autres princes qui ont régné durant les six premiers siècles de l'église*, in four volumes (1690-1738). From the age of fourteen Tillemont was interested in Roman imperial and early church history. He used to rise at four in the morning and work until nine at night, except for meals and, after he became a priest in 1676, to say the offices. With the exception of a visit to Holland in 1685 he never left France and hardly even his house at Tillemont, where he resided after the dissolution of Port Royal in 1679. It has been written of him that "he studied for study's sake and had only the aim of truth". Gibbon alludes to Tillemont's *History of the Roman Emperors* as "so learned and exact a compilation" and to his "sure-footed" erudition;²⁷ and when writing of the religious disputes at Constantinople in 514 A.D. (chap. XLVII) he adds in a note: "Here I must take leave forever of that incomparable guide, whose bigotry is overbalanced by the merits of erudition, diligence, veracity and scrupulous minuteness."²⁸ The late Thomas Hodgkin described the same work as "a perfect digest of all the authorities bearing on every fact in Roman imperial history".²⁹

A far different sort of scholar was Étienne Baluze (1630-1718), wit, *bon vivant*, savant.³⁰ He began his career as secretary and librarian to Pierre de Marca, the learned author of a *Histoire de Béarn* (1640), whom Mazarin made archbishop of Toulouse and who succeeded the notorious Cardinal de Retz as bishop of Paris in 1662, but who died in the same year. After some years as librarian to Le Tellier, Baluze in 1667 became librarian to Colbert, a post which he retained until 1700, seventeen years after the death of the minister. His reputation and mastery of French legal antiquities won him the chair of canon law at the Collège de France in 1670, which he held until 1713. Of his many works the most valuable is the *Capitularia regum Francorum* (2 vols.,

²⁷ *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. by J. B. Bury (London, 1896-1902), III, 48, n.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 132, n.

²⁹ *Italy and her Invaders* (2d ed., Oxford, 1892), I, 117.

³⁰ On Baluze see *La grande encyclopédie*, V, 183-85; Charles Godard, *De Stephano Baluzio* (Paris, 1901), a thesis for the agrégé d'histoire; and Émile Bourgeois and Louis André, *Les sources de l'histoire de France, xviii^e siècle* (7 vols., Paris, 1913-34), II, 332-33.

folio, Paris, 1677; 2d ed., 1780). The preface is a history of the capitularies which makes a landmark in the history of early medieval law. This manuscript, begun in collaboration with Marca on the basis of a manuscript from the Spanish monastery of Ripoli, was collated by Baluze with others which he found, one in the Vatican, one at St. Gall, another at Mont St. Michel, etc. To these texts he added the *Formulae* of Marculf, Pithou's *Glossary*, and Sirmond's *Notae*. His other most important work was a *History of the Avignonese Popes*.³¹ Baluze was a friend of almost every historical scholar of the time and a frequent visitor at St. Germain des Prés, where he collaborated with D'Achery and others. He left behind him three historical works of the first order, five collections of documents, eleven lesser books, and the *Miscellanea*, a manuscript collection of historical notes in seven volumes. He was disliked by pious Catholics for his rationalistic attitude toward legends of the saints, and he was an ardent advocate of Gallicanism and wrote several pamphlets in support of it.

Unlike any of the French scholars so far enumerated, in that first he was a layman and not of the clergy, and secondly that his subject was unique, was Charles Dufresne, seigneur Du Cange (1610-88).³² The sciences of paleography, diplomatic, and medieval Latin philology and linguistics were all born of French scholarship of the seventeenth century. Du Cange was the founder of the last, and, as in the case of Mabillon, there is a modern historical journal named in his honor—the *Revue Du Cange*.

Du Cange's early education was received from the Jesuits; later he studied law at Orléans; in 1638 he abandoned the bar for historical research and returned from Paris to Amiens, where he had been born and where his father was royal provost. In the same year he married a daughter of Du Bois, a treasury official, and in 1647 purchased the office from his father-in-law, which gave him an independent income. In 1668 he established himself in Paris, where he died twenty years later. During this time he made friends with every distinguished historian there, notably with Mabillon and Baluze. Du Cange is best known for his glossary of medieval Latin (*Glossarium ad scriptores*

³¹ *Vitae paparum Avenionensium; hoc est historia pontificum Romanorum qui in Gallia sederunt ab anno Christi MCCCIV usque ad annum MCCCXCIV . . . notas adjecit* (2 vols., Paris, 1693; reprint, 4 vols., Paris, 1914-27).

³² Sandys, II, 289-90; article in *Nouvelle biographie générale*, ed. by Hoefer (46 vols., Paris, 1862-77), XIV, 911-18; Léon Feugère, *Étude sur la vie et les ouvrages de Du Cange* (Paris, 1852); *La grande encyclopédie*, XIV, 1175; V. de Nors, "Du Cange et ses biographes", *Rev. Deux Mondes*, XIX (1853), 1237-51.

mediae et infimae Latinitatis) in three folio volumes (1678)³³ and a corresponding glossary of medieval Greek in two volumes. Like Tillemont, Du Cange habitually worked from twelve to sixteen hours a day, and for the Latin glossary alone he examined upwards of six thousand manuscripts besides printed sources. Léon Gautier used to spur his students by saying: "Remember, gentlemen, that the great Du Cange worked for fourteen hours on his wedding day." His linguistic ability, his wide and varied knowledge, his critical sense, his accuracy, probably exceeded that of any other scholar of the age. He was far from being merely "the lexicographer of the latest Latinity".

Du Cange enjoys the singular reputation of having contributed as much to Byzantine studies as to medieval Latin studies. Indeed, it may be said that he almost created Byzantine historical scholarship. He had only one predecessor. It was the peril from the Osmanli Turks which first turned the minds of Western scholars to the serious study of the history of the Byzantine Empire. In the previous century Hieronymous Wolf (1516-80), who had learned Greek from Melanchthon and who was for some years the secretary and librarian of the rich merchant of Augsburg, Johan Jakob Fugger, and later, from 1557 to his death in 1580, rector of the newly founded gymnasium, had edited Suidas (1564) and published four volumes of Byzantine historians.³⁴ Cardinal Mazarin, as regent of France during the minority of Louis XIV, possessor of the finest library in France and not without scholarship, conceived the idea of a French edition of all the Byzantine historians, which was continued through almost the entire reign of Louis XIV.³⁵ In this great series Du Cange edited the texts of Anna Comnena, Zonaras, Cinnamus, and Villehardouin. In 1688, ten years after the appearance of his glossary of medieval Latin, Du Cange gave to the world the afore-mentioned glossary of medieval Greek. His edition of the *Chronicon paschale* was passing through the press when he died. Baluze published it, prefixed by a eulogy of Du Cange.

³³ Revised ed., 6 vols., Paris, 1733-36; latest ed. by Léopold Favre, 10 vols., Niort, 1883-87.

³⁴ On Wolf see Sandys, II, 268-69.

³⁵ *Byzantinae historiae scriptores* (39 vols. [or 47, or 27, or 23, according to the arrangement], Paris, 1645-1711). Best edition printed in Holland, 11 vols., 1672-74, with good Latin translations from the Greek. Contents listed in August Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi* (2d ed., 2 vols., Berlin, 1896), I, xlv. Many of the texts from this collection were later reprinted in the Abbé Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. Extracts translated into French by Louis Cousin in his *Histoire de Constantinople* (8 vols., Paris, 1672-74). About the same time, in Germany, Martin Hanke (Hankius) published a dissertation entitled *De Byzantinorum rerum scriptoribus graecis liber* (Leipzig, 1677).

The number of Du Cange's works would be incredible if the originals, all written in his own hand, were not still in evidence. His autograph manuscripts and his extensive and valuable library passed to his eldest son, Philippe Dufresne, who died unmarried four years later. François Dufresne, the second son, and two sisters then received the succession and sold the library, when the greater part of the manuscripts were purchased by the Abbé Du Champs, who handed them over to a bookseller called Mariette, who resold part of them to Baron Hohen-dorf. The remaining part was acquired by D'Hozier, the genealogist. But the French government, aware of the importance of all the writings of Du Cange, succeeded after much trouble in collecting the greater portion of these manuscripts, which are preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale.

The greatest of the historical scholars of France and the French Catholic Netherlands in the seventeenth century have now been passed in review. Naturally there were many others, but they were less original, less able than the giants of scholarship whom I have mentioned.

The scholars to whose labors I have paid my tribute are unknown names even to many modern historians, and the hundreds of folios on which they spent a lifetime gather dust on the shelves of great libraries. There is on their faded pages no touch of genius, only the evidence of amazing industry, of devotion so unfaltering, and of learning so vast that they humble us in these days of history making and history writing at a tempo of which the *érudits* never dreamed. They in their age laid the foundation for modern critical historical scholarship; they gave us the documents for a thousand years of history, and without documents there is no history. As one of the most distinguished of my predecessors in this presidency said nearly forty years ago, their work was not

. . . the mere fruit of laborious industry, purblind or indifferent as to relative values, and as to the higher uses of learning. . . that a conscious purpose ran through these gigantic labors of accumulation, is plain from the intelligence and methodical skill with which the sciences auxiliary to history and to the study of the classics were then developed. . . few of the mighty folios of that age are by reason of their subjects deemed useless by the modern student.

They "are still the inexhaustible quarry of the historian".³⁶ Is it not eminently fitting that we of other faiths, in a distant land and a century remote from them, should render our homage to the great names of the Age of Erudition?

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

³⁶ Jameson, as cited in n. 13 above.

THE INTERNATIONALISM OF THE EARLY SOCIAL DEMOCRATS OF GERMANY

THE German Empire after 1871 had among dangerous flaws the gulf between the Social Democratic party and the ruling classes. This manifested itself clearly in the mutual hostility of Bismarck and the party in the field of foreign affairs. Nevertheless, the antagonists had more in common in foreign affairs than either realized or would have admitted. Both feared Russia and the possibility of a Russo-French alliance, and upon the policies of both this fear exercised a determinative influence. Yet the Social Democrats had only mistrust for Bismarck's attitude toward Russia, while Bismarck denounced the professed internationalism of the party as directed against the very existence of the state.¹ The chancellor's denunciation would hardly have been less severe even if he had realized that this internationalism admitted of a genuine patriotism, albeit a patriotism very different from that which the Social Democrats attributed to their opponents.

I

The doctrines of the class struggle and the internationalism of the labor movement were given classic formulation by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*, which declared that "The workingmen have no country" and maintained that the rivalries of nations are the result of internal social conflict. From this it followed that, when the victory of the proletariat had brought class struggle to an end, national rivalry and war would cease. Moreover, Marx and Engels held that the basic nature of the class struggle dictated the necessity of co-operation among the workers of all nations. In 1864, sixteen years after the appearance of the famous *Manifesto*, the International Workingmen's Association, or First International, was founded to seek the goal which the *Manifesto* had set.²

A year earlier Ferdinand Lassalle had organized the General Association of German Workers, the first independent labor party in Ger-

¹ See below.

² The impetus for the foundation of the First International was provided in part by sympathy with Poland after the suppression of the rising of 1863; G. M. Stekloff, *History of the First International*, trans. by Eden and Cedar Paul (London, 1928), pp. 44-46.

many. This drew its membership chiefly from Prussia and the north but failed to attract many local societies of workers, especially in other parts of Germany. From the latter a rival association was organized in the same year, the League of Societies of German Workers, which, in 1869 at Eisenach under the leadership of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, gave way to the Social Democratic Workers' Party.

The General Association is usually described as nationalistic after the example of Lassalle, while to the Eisenach party is attributed the internationalism of Marx and Engels. Although this distinction has some basis, it has been much overemphasized and has beclouded more than it has clarified. This article purposes to show how little the internationalism of even the Eisenachers resembled that of the *Communist Manifesto*. Moreover, so eminent an authority as Karl Kautsky has suggested that the difference between Marx and Lassalle in this respect was not the difference between internationalism and nationalism but consisted only in that Lassalle had less understanding than Marx of international developments.³ And in May, 1867, under the leadership of Lassalle's successor, Johann Baptist von Schweitzer, the General Association adopted the first of a series of resolutions which explicitly affirmed the international character of the labor movement,⁴ while a resolution of March, 1869,⁵ defined the relationship of the General Association to the First International in terms practically identical with those of the Eisenach program. Conversely, Bebel recognized at Eisenach the indispensability of national labor parties,⁶ an opinion which the Lassalleans had always asserted and which the subsequent experience of Bebel and Liebknecht strengthened. To be sure, the Eisenach party thereafter enjoyed the support of the International in the former's conflict with the General Association, so that it is hardly surprising that Schweitzer and his successors turned from praise to denunciation of the International, though continuing to assert the internationalism of the labor movement.⁷ Schweitzer was right when, in November, 1872,

³ Karl Kautsky, *Sozialisten und Krieg* (Prague, 1937), pp. 123, 140. Cf. n. 52 below.

⁴ "Grundzüge der Bestrebungen des allgemeinen deutschen Arbeitervereins. Braunschweig, 19 Mai, 1867", in Felix Salomon, *Die deutschen Parteiprogramme* (4th ed., 3 vols., Leipzig, etc., 1931-32), I, 175; *Der Social-Demokrat* (Berlin, 1864-71), Sept. 2, 1868. This was the official organ of the General Association and was edited by Schweitzer; hereafter cited as *Soc.-Dem.*

⁵ *Soc.-Dem.*, Apr. 21, 1869.

⁶ *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des allgemeinen deutschen sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterkongresses zu Eisenach, 1869* (Leipzig, 1869), pp. 28-32, 73.

⁷ Gustav Mayer, *Johann Baptist von Schweitzer und die Sozialdemokratie* (Jena, 1909), pp. 349-50; *Soc.-Dem.*, Oct. 6, 20, 1869; *Neuer Social-Demokrat* (Berlin, 1871-

he pointed out that the "apparent question of principle: national or international" had ceased to be an insurmountable obstacle between the two parties.⁸ The question was not one of principle but of degree, and the degree of difference was not great.

In the years immediately following the Franco-Prussian War the tide of labor internationalism ebbed somewhat,⁹ and when Eisenachers and Lassalleans united at Gotha in 1875, the statement of the program upon internationalism was relatively weak.¹⁰ But the united Social Democrats had then to face new trials, such as the depression of the seventies and the Exceptional Law of 1878-90. Again they became more conscious of the need for co-operation with labor in other lands. The First International having broken down in 1873, the Second International was inaugurated at Paris in 1889 at an International Labor Congress, which numbered eighty-one Germans among its 395 members.¹¹ And when in 1891 the Social Democrats formulated a new program at Erfurt, they renewed allegiance to internationalism in the following declaration:

The interests of the working class are the same in all countries with the capitalistic method of production. With the development of world trade and of production for the world market, the position of the workers in each country grows ever more dependent on that of the workers in other countries. The liberation of the working class is accordingly a task in which the workers of all civilized countries are equally concerned. In recognition of this the Social Democratic party of Germany feels and declares itself one with the class-conscious workers of all other countries.¹²

In addition to such formal declarations, the speeches and press of the Social Democrats abounded in statements of similar import or de-

76), Sept. 6, Dec. 3, 1871, June 7, 1872—the Lassallean organ took this name after Schweitzer's retirement and is cited hereafter as *N.S.D.*; Franz Mehring, *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (2 pts., Stuttgart, 1897-98), Pt. 2, p. 333.

⁸ For Schweitzer's letter see *Der Volksstaat* (Leipzig, 1869-76), Jan. 3, 1873. This was the organ of the Eisenach party; hereafter cited as *V.* Schweitzer had resigned the presidency of the General Association in March, 1871, and subsequently withdrawn from the party. Angry criticism from his successors greeted this letter, the circumstances of which are given by Mayer, pp. 416 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 380-81; Kurt Brandis, *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie bis zum Fall des Sozialistengesetzes* (Leipzig, 1931), p. 28.

¹⁰ *Protokoll des Vereinigungs-Congresses der Sozialdemokraten Deutschlands, Gotha, Mai, 1875* (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 54-55. Had it not been for the criticism of Marx, this declaration would have been still weaker. See Karl Marx, "Zur Kritik des sozialdemokratischen Parteiprogramms", in *Neue Zeit*, 9th Year (1890-91), I, 560-75.

¹¹ Mehring, pp. 514-15, 527.

¹² *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands, zu Erfurt, 1891* (Berlin, 1891), p. 4.

nunciatory of nationalism. Bebel declared the principle of nationality to be "thoroughly reactionary".¹³ Wilhelm Hasselmann placed himself squarely upon the ground of the *Communist Manifesto* in attributing war to exploitation and demanded that "War must be ended by war, by that terrible war which the working people of all civilized lands will wage against exploitation."¹⁴ Liebknecht quoted Robespierre to the effect that "the principle of nationality was invented by knaves to lead fools by the nose",¹⁵ and an unidentified "German Worker" again reflected the influence of the *Manifesto* when he wrote to the party organ as follows: "So away with all sentimental prattle of love of Fatherland. The proletarian has no Fatherland, and if he wishes to shed his blood, let him do it in battle against his exploiters and oppressors."¹⁶

Thus the Social Democrats thought and times without number declared that they were internationalists. Then and since they have been taken at their word. Bismarck classed them with the Catholic Centrists as the two parties which "threaten and endanger the foundations of the state, prove their common hostility to the development of the nation by international procedure, and fight the nation and the formation of national states".¹⁷ Likewise Prince von Bülow declared that "German Socialism had been instilled by Karl Marx with unpatriotic sentiment, with complete indifference, in fact, hatred toward patriotic interests, traditions and sentiment."¹⁸ A similar view is advanced by an eminent German historian¹⁹ as by many others. The prevalence of this opinion explains the surprise which greeted the vote of the Social Democrats for the first war loan on August 4, 1914, and which is still reflected in general accounts of the incident.²⁰

¹³ *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Reichstages des nord-deutschen Bundes*, Nov. 26, 1870.

¹⁴ *Soc.-Dem.*, Mar. 8, 1871. Hasselmann was a coeditor of the Lassalleian organs both before and after Schweitzer's retirement. Several years later he was expelled from the party, which he had also represented in the *Reichstag*.

¹⁵ Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Zur orientalischen Frage, oder Soll Europa kosackisch werden?* (Leipzig, [1878]), p. 43.

¹⁶ *Der Sozialdemokrat* (Zurich and London, 1879-90), Jan. 15, 1887. The official organ of the party during the Exceptional Law; hereafter cited as *S.D.*

¹⁷ Apr. 24, 1873, in the Prussian house of lords, quoted by Ludwig Hahn, *Fürst Bismarck* (5 vols., Berlin, 1878-91), II, 577.

¹⁸ Prince von Bülow, *Memoirs* (4 vols., Boston, 1931-32), I, 163.

¹⁹ Erich Brandenburg, *Die Reichsgründung* (2d ed., 2 vols., Leipzig, 1924), II, 456-57.

²⁰ On the other hand, this incident and its background may best be studied in Camille Bloch, *The Causes of the World War* (London, 1935), chap. xiv, and Carlton J. H. Hayes, "The History of German Socialism Reconsidered", in the *American Historical*

II

In fact the internationalism of the early Social Democrats differed greatly from what they or their opponents asserted and was such that the vote of their successors at the outbreak of the World War should have occasioned no surprise. Rarely if ever did their internationalism lead to more than verbal protest; failing to issue in action, it was never implemented for action, as for a general strike to prevent war.²¹ Generally it was inconclusive in determining their attitude on foreign policy and other issues. Occasionally it gave way to something suspiciously like aggressive nationalism, and while such instances were very exceptional, the general position of the early Social Democrats was less one of internationalism than of a broad and forward-looking nationalism which was quite consistent with their several assertions of willingness to defend the Fatherland against foreign attack.

The negative character of the internationalism of the Social Democrats may be briefly illustrated by their opposition to the tariff and imperialist policies of Bismarck. Although they almost invariably declared and voted against protective tariffs, the opposition, whether in *Reichstag* or press, was with rare exceptions based not upon the principle of internationalism but upon the interests of the German workers.²² Likewise it was commonly argued against Bismarck's policy of colonial expansion that it would yield no real advantages to the German economy or the German people, although objections were also raised out of concern for the natives and on the ground that imperialism was merely an extension of the area of capitalistic exploitation.²³

But the limitations of the internationalism of the Social Democrats are most clearly perceived in their attitude toward the foreign policy of Bismarck, for which the Franco-Prussian War may be taken as the point of departure. Here, at first glance, internationalism may appear

Review, Vol. XXIII (Oct., 1917), revised as "The Influence of Political Tactics on Socialist Theory in Germany, 1863-1914", in Charles E. Merriam and Harry E. Barnes, eds., *A History of Political Theories: Recent Times* (New York, 1924).

²¹ See Robert Michels, "Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie im internationalen Verband", in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Vol. XXV (1907).

²² For two exceptions noted see Bracke's speech in *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstages* (hereafter cited as *R.V.*), Apr. 23, 1877, II, 710-12; also the Election Manifesto of 1881 in A. Bebel, *Die Sozialdemokratie im deutschen Reichstag* (5 pts., Berlin, 1907-1909), Pt. 3, pp. 193-94.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 204; Kautsky, "Auswanderung und Kolonisation", in *Neue Zeit*, I (1883), 365-70, 393-404; "Fata Morgana", in *S.D.*, June 19, 1884, and July 10, 1884; Hasenclever, *R.V.*, Jan. 20, 1885, II, 743-45; Liebknecht, *ibid.*, Mar. 4, 1885, III, 1540-41. Cf. Brandis, pp. 85-89.

to have been determinative, for although Bebel and Liebknecht stood well-nigh alone in opposing the war until the battle of Sedan, thereafter they were joined in opposition by the executive committee of their own party, the leaders of the General Association, and by Marx and Engels, all of whom had in the first stage of the war supported the German cause as one of defense. But as the writer has attempted to show elsewhere,²⁴ the initial position of Bebel and Liebknecht was determined not by internationalism but by hostility to the militaristic monarchy and junkerdom of Prussia and to the "Prussianization" of Germany, which they had long opposed. And while the general opposition of the Social Democratic leaders to the war after Sedan was consistent with, it was not necessarily dependent on, community of interest with the workers of France. Such a community of interest was demonstrated, however, in the vigorous championing of the Commune of Paris by Eisenachers and Lassalleans alike. Though it availed nothing, this remains the most conspicuous instance of solidarity with the proletariat, real or fancied, of another country on the part of the early Social Democrats of Germany.

Moreover, when Marx and Engels urged opposition to the war in its later stages, they did so on grounds which influenced the Social Democratic attitude toward German foreign policy to the end of the Bismarck era if not to 1914. Marx was apprehensive of war between Germany and Russia, and both before and after Sedan he prophesied in stirring phrases that if Alsace and Lorraine were annexed, Germany must either subordinate itself to Russian designs or be prepared to fight against an alliance of Russia and France. This prophecy evidences the bitter hostility to czarist Russia which was common among liberals and radicals of the nineteenth century. At least since 1848 Marx and Engels had regarded czarism as the most dangerous enemy of progress,²⁵ and Liebknecht completely shared their opinion. Indeed militarist Prussia and despotic Russia vied for first place in Liebknecht's hatred, and he often asserted an affinity between the two. Since 1869, if not before, Liebknecht had declared Prussia to be dependent on Rus-

²⁴ See my article, "The Social Democrats and the Unification of Germany, 1863-71", in the *Journal of Modern History*, XII (Dec., 1940), 485-509.

²⁵ Lassalle shared the hostility to Russia, but his preoccupation with the German Question led him to view Austria as the more immediate obstacle to progress. Friedrich Hertneck, *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die orientalische Frage im Zeitalter Bismarcks* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 77-83.

sia,²⁶ and taught by Marx, from 1870 on Liebknecht pictured Germany as the tool of Russian policy, enslaved by the fear of an alliance between Russia and France, whose enmity the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine had provoked. Other spokesmen of the Social Democrats were in substantial agreement with Liebknecht. It was not internationalism but hatred and fear of czarist Russia which primarily determined the attitude of the party toward foreign affairs during and after the Bismarck era.²⁷

There were, however, variations in the methods advocated by the Social Democrats to guard against the Russian menace, as appeared in the crises in the Near East. While in London Liebknecht had learned to regard "the question of the Near East as the question of Russian advance to the Mediterranean" and had adopted the views of David Urquhart, a British diplomat. An irreconcilable foe of czarism, Urquhart admired the Turks and urged that the Eastern Question be solved by the maintenance and reorganization of the Moslem Empire.²⁸ During and after the crisis of 1875-78 Liebknecht praised Turkey as vehemently as he denounced Russia and Russian aggression, while he derided the claims of the Balkan peoples to independence, lest Turkey be thereby weakened:

But "the repressed nationalities"! The "South Slavs, thirsting for freedom"! The "Christian brothers"! Bah! . . . The "principle of nationality" divides and separates peoples, brings them under the yoke of their common enemies. On the other hand, the socialistic, democratic principle of equality, of equal rights, of solidarity, unites men and peoples. How can Russia, whose hands are stained with the blood of murdered Poland . . . pretend to represent the "principle of nationality". . . "The South Slavs, thirsting for freedom". . . To date not one has been found anywhere. . . . But the "Christian brothers"! "repressed" by the "heathen" Turks! . . . The Mohammedan religion is the *single* tolerant religion, it does not repress the unbeliever. . . . The Christians in Turkey have the most unlimited autonomy not only in religious affairs but also in communal affairs and live in a state of well-being, which is quite a surprise to the Russian "liberator" who is capable of thought. . . . The "Little Father" should . . . reward his Christian subjects and brothers with a little heathen-Turkish freedom. But that does

²⁶ *V.*, Oct. 6, 1869.

²⁷ Occasionally during the eighties Bebel professed a lessened fear of Russia in the light of Russian internal conditions and of the Dual and Triple Alliances, while Russo-German tension after 1878 briefly stilled Liebknecht's accusation against Bismarck of subservience to Russia; Bebel, *R.V.*, Feb. 19, Mar. 2, 1880, Vol. II, Dec. 16, 1887, Vol. I, June 25, 1890, Vol. I; Hertneck, pp. 98-99.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83. Urquhart also influenced Marx and Engels, although they regarded his views more critically than did Liebknecht; Kautsky, *Sozialisten und Krieg*, pp. 230, 232.

not go in the land of the knout. Reforms at home? Whoever demands them is sent to Siberia. The "reforms", the "freedom" are . . . merely export articles for the foreign market.²⁹

The choice of Liebknecht to represent the Social Democrats in the *Reichstag* debate of February 19, 1878, on the Near East indicates that his position was approved at least by the deputation of the party.³⁰ Just at this time, also, he was assured that Marx and Engels agreed with him in supporting Turkey, although earlier they had advocated an independent South Slav state.³¹ On the other hand, there were a number of Social Democrats who, although at one with Liebknecht in opposing Russia and Russian aggrandizement, radically disapproved of his Turcophilism and his insistence that the South Slavs must be held under the Turkish yoke. The dissenters sympathized with the aspirations of the subject peoples of the Balkans and maintained that, if given independence, they would form a stronger bulwark against Russia than did Turkey. Karl Kautsky was among those who took issue with Liebknecht,³² but the more conspicuous spokesman was an able young Berlin bank clerk, Heinrich Levy,³³ who subsequently disappeared from the party.

The cogent arguments of Levy did not overcome Liebknecht's obstinacy but were later echoed by Bebel, who, in the crisis following the Bulgarian annexation of Eastern Rumelia in 1885, advocated the establishment of a federation of independent Balkan states.³⁴ Moreover, in urging this solution of the Eastern Question Bebel then marched far along the road to nationalism. Of course, in common with his associates, he depicted Russia as the stronghold of reaction in Europe. Nor was he the only Social Democrat to suggest that Russian ambitions for control of the Baltic would inevitably lead to a Russo-German war. But, Bebel continued, if Russia gained her objectives in the Balkans, it would not only be followed by attack upon the Baltic provinces of

²⁹ Liebknecht, *Zur orientalischen Frage*, pp. 43-45.

³⁰ Liebknecht's address was reprinted in pamphlet form as *Die Orientdebatte im deutschen Reichstag* (Leipzig, 1878).

³¹ Hertneck, pp. 81-82, 96.

³² Kautsky, *Sozialisten und Krieg*, pp. 231-34.

³³ "Aus Heuchelland", in *Vorwärts: Central-Organ der Sozialdemokratie Deutschlands* (Leipzig, 1876-78), Oct. 10-17, 1877, Jan. 18, 1878; H. L. [Heinrich Levy], *Zur orientalischen Frage, oder: Soll die sozialistische Arbeiterpartei türkisch werden* (Zurich, 1878).

³⁴ Toward the end of the century this position prevailed over that of Liebknecht among the Social Democrats; Hertneck, pp. 105-108.

Germany but also would endanger German trade relations in the Balkans and with Turkey, which he held to offer better opportunity for expansion than did distant colonies.³⁵ In other words, Bebel urged the establishment of a Balkan federation not only as the strongest obstacle to the advance of reactionary czarism but also as a means of keeping the Near East open to German economic penetration.³⁶ He regretted that Germany had not acted to establish such a federation in August, 1886, and although conceding that it might have caused Russia to declare war, he asserted that "Germany would have opposed it [Russia] unanimously as never before, and together with Austria and the Balkan states and eventually Turkey, Germany could have waged war against Russia and France with the best prospect of success, war which later it will possibly, yes probably, be forced to wage under much more unfavorable circumstances."³⁷ In short, Bebel was ready for war with Russia in 1886, not only for defense of German interests but for economic expansion also. Although neither he nor any member of his party went so far again during the Bismarck era, this was neither the first time nor the last that a Social Democrat recognized the obligation to defend the Fatherland against the dreaded Russian foe.³⁸

In contrast with the unvarying hostility of the Social Democrats toward czarist Russia were their frequent professions of sympathy with the Third French Republic. They had tried to prevent the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and, till after the retirement of Bismarck, urged that the provinces be accorded the right of self-determination as a

³⁵ Bebel, "Deutschland, Russland, und die orientalische Frage", in *Neue Zeit*, IV (1886), 502-15. For other expressions of apprehension of Russian designs on the Baltic provinces of Germany see *S.D.*, Oct. 28, 1886; Grillenberger, *R.V.*, Dec. 4, 1886, I, 101-102; Bebel, *ibid.*, June 25, 1890, I, 567-68.

³⁶ Here Bebel approached the position of Lassalle, who had looked forward to the incorporation of the Balkan countries in a greater Germany; Hertneck, p. 83. In 1898 Liebknecht criticized German statesmanship on the ground that the energies of Germany and Austria should have been directed toward expansion in the Near East; Max Victor, "Die Stellung der deutschen Sozialdemokratie zu den Fragen der auswärtigen Politik", in *Arch. f. Sozialwissenschaft u. Sozialpol.*, LX (1928), 174.

³⁷ Bebel, *Neue Zeit*, IV. Opposition to war with Russia was urged by Engels in an article reprinted from the Paris *Socialiste* in *S.D.*, Nov. 12, 1886 (cf. Kautsky, *Sozialisten und Krieg*, pp. 243 ff.), and by "Mm" in a letter in *S.D.*, Dec. 10, 1886.

³⁸ Motteler, an Eisenacher, *R.F.*, Apr. 20, 1874, Vol. II; Bebel, *ibid.*, Mar. 2, 1880, Vol. I; Grillenberger, *ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1886, I, 101. Grillenberger erred here in declaring himself "in complete agreement with my whole party". The Social Democrats' professions of readiness to defend Germany against foreign attack were often made in connection with their advocacy of a militia system to replace the standing army, which they never wearied of attacking.

means of restoring friendly relations between Germany and France.³⁹ Still the spokesmen of the Social Democrats were forced to admit the growth of *revanche* spirit beyond the Vosges, and when, in accordance with the prophecy of Marx, this threatened to bring about a Russo-French alliance, they were prompt to pledge the party to defense of German soil against French as against Russian attack.⁴⁰

Various Social Democrats objected to such declarations,⁴¹ but on two occasions the party refused to sustain the objections. At the Wyden Congress in 1880 and that of Erfurt in 1891, dissentients sought to censure the spokesmen of the party *inter alia* for pledging the party to defense of Germany against foreign attack. At Wyden a motion for censure was unanimously defeated.⁴² At Erfurt five of the dissentients resigned, and two were also read out of the party.⁴³ This meant in effect that in 1880 and in 1891 the Social Democratic party stood ready to support a war to protect the Fatherland against Russia and France. The position of the Social Democrats in 1914 and the ensuing dissension within their ranks had been clearly forecast. And the words of William II on August 1, 1914, "I no longer recognize parties; I recognize only Germans",⁴⁴ had been anticipated by Vollmar in 1891: "As soon as our country is attacked from without, there will be only one party, and we Social Democrats will not be the last to do our duty! And we will do it the more eagerly if the enemy of all civilization, Russian barbarism, is involved."⁴⁵

III

Obviously the readiness of the Social Democrats to defend Germany was inconsistent with the words of the *Communist Manifesto*, "The

³⁹ In the *Reichstag* on February 9, 1891, Auer, a member of the right wing of the party, first recognized the annexation as an accomplished fact.

⁴⁰ Bebel, *R.V.*, Mar. 2, 1880, Vol. I; a letter signed "Dixi", in *S.D.*, Mar. 17, 1888; Liebknecht, *R.V.*, Nov. 28, 1888, I, 31; Georg von Vollmar, *Über die nächsten Aufgaben der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (Munich, 1899), pp. 9-10; this reproduces Vollmar's addresses of June 1 and July 6, 1891, in Munich.

⁴¹ "A German Worker", in *S.D.*, Jan. 15, 1887, quoted in part above; *R.V.*, Feb. 5, 1889, II, 795, where Liebknecht replied to criticism within the party of his declaration cited in n. 40. On this occasion he received the support of the party organ (*S.D.*, Feb. 17, 1889), which on January 15, 1887, had taken a middle position between Grillenberger (see n. 38) and "A German Worker".

⁴² *Protokoll des Kongresses der deutschen Sozialdemokratie, auf Schloss Wyden in der Schweiz, 1880* (Zurich, 1880), pp. 45-46.

⁴³ *Erfurt Protokoll*, pp. 185-89, 193-94, 222, 318-22; Mehring, pp. 537-41.

⁴⁴ Bloch, p. 173. ⁴⁵ Vollmar, pp. 9-10.

workingmen have no country." Yet for the inconsistency they had the authority of Marx and Engels themselves. Nationalism was not excluded from, but had its place in, the general Marxian system.⁴⁶ Similarly, as the term logically implies, the internationalism of the Social Democrats presupposed nations, and this they explained again and again.⁴⁷ Marx and Engels too recognized the duty of supporting one's country in a war of defense⁴⁸ and believed that national independence was an indispensable condition of success in labor's struggle for emancipation.⁴⁹ Hence the Social Democrats had the highest sanction for declaring, as they often did, that Germany must be defended lest foreign domination should cause such a flood of national feeling as would engulf the whole German labor movement.⁵⁰

Yet while the interest of Marx and Engels in the various national labor movements may have been incidental to their anticipation of the world revolution,⁵¹ the absorption of the German Social Democrats in their own struggle and its German environment deprived their internationalism of vitality, made it secondary and remote. They thought and proclaimed themselves internationalists, but fundamentally they were Germans and sensible to the ties that bound their fellow country-

⁴⁶ For the Marx-Engels concept of nationalism in 1848-49, which Lassalle shared, see P. Kampffmeyer, "Die nationale Idee und die Sozialdemokratie", in *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, LXXIV (1931), 864-66; cf. Kautsky, *Sozialisten und Krieg*, pp. 110-11. See also the comprehensive study by Solomon F. Bloom, *The World of Nations: A Study of the National Implications in the Work of Karl Marx* (New York, 1941).

⁴⁷ Liebknecht at the Stuttgart Congress of 1870 (*Protokoll über den ersten Congress der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei zu Stuttgart, Juni, 1870*, Leipzig, 1870, p. 11) and at the Halle Congress of 1890 (*Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitag der sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands, zu Halle, 1890*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 167-68); Bracke, in *V.*, Aug. 27, 1870; Bebel, *S.D.*, Apr. 18, 1880; Auer, *ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1880; the controversy of Frohme with the *S.D.* (*ibid.*, Sept. 10, 18, Oct. 22, 1885) indicates the shades of opinion within the party; *ibid.*, Apr. 8, 1886, Feb. 17, 1889; Vollmar, pp. 8-9, 22.

⁴⁸ Kautsky, *Sozialisten und Krieg*, p. 190.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 194-95, quoting Engels's letter of Aug. 15, 1870, concerning the possible effect of a Napoleonic victory upon the German labor movement; also the reasons given by Marx for desiring a free Poland in an address to the general council of the International, *V.*, Mar. 24, 1875; and Engels's letter of Feb. 15, 1882, in Kautsky, *Die Internationalität und der Krieg* (reprint from *Neue Zeit*, Berlin, 1915), pp. 17-18.

⁵⁰ Bebel, *S.D.*, Apr. 18, 1880; *ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1887, Feb. 17, 1889; "Dixi", in *ibid.*, Mar. 17, 1888. Cf. Bracke, as quoted in Kautsky, *Internationalität*, p. 14, and Levy, in *Vorwärts*, Oct. 14, 1877.

⁵¹ Cf. Hans Rothfels, "Marxismus und auswärtige Politik", in *Deutscher Staat und deutsche Parteien* (Munich and Berlin, 1922), pp. 313-15.

men to the Fatherland. In a word, they too were patriots.⁵² Bracke could say that "love of the Fatherland is the mother of the noblest deeds".⁵³ Liebknecht, who once dismissed patriotism as "a disease by which a sensible man is attacked only in foreign countries"⁵⁴ and described the "Prusso-German Empire" as "a class-state clad in the armor of a military state";⁵⁵ this same Liebknecht could write, albeit late in life, that "When in the fall of 1862 I went through the *Wilhelmstrasse* after an absence of seventeen years, I could have kissed the Prussian soldiers."⁵⁶ Surely it was national feeling which in part caused Liebknecht's lifelong regret, shared by many Social Democrats, at the exclusion of German Austria from the empire; national feeling, which, together with hostility to Russia, prompted his solicitude for the protection of *Deutschum* "on all sides" and led him to speak of the "German *Kulturmission* in the East".⁵⁷ How else account for Liebknecht's assertion that the Germans were on a higher cultural level than the Poles, despite his long championing of the restoration of Polish independence?⁵⁸ But it was Bebel who made the most convincing statement both of the patriotism of the Social Democrats and of its qualifications:

The patriotism that consists in love of the country in which one was born, in the customs and tongue of which one was brought up, which, in a word, is the soil in which our existence has its roots and grows, *this* patriotism is not only *not* rejected by Social Democracy, but *is practiced by it daily*

⁵² In *Sozialisten und Krieg*, p. 123, Kautsky has defined the internationalism of Marx in terms comparable to the conclusions of this article concerning the Social Democrats, e.g.: "In this sense Marx [and Lassalle] was just as much a nationalist as an internationalist." Still I am inclined to the opinion that, as suggested above, a distinction remains between Marx and the Social Democrats in this respect, though the distinction may again be one of degree and circumstance rather than of principle.

⁵³ *V.*, Aug. 27, 1870. For the acquiescence of the Social Democrats in the German state see Kampffmeyer, *Sozialistische Monatsh.*, LXXIV, 868, and Pauline R. Anderson, *The Background of Anti-English Feeling in Germany, 1890-1902* (Washington, 1939), pp. 118-19.

⁵⁴ Liebknecht, *Karl Marx: Biographical Memoirs* (Chicago, 1901), p. 147.

⁵⁵ *Protokoll über den sechsten Congress der sozial-demokratischen Arbeiterpartei, Coburg, 1874* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 32.

⁵⁶ Kurt Eisner, *Wilhelm Liebknecht: Sein Leben und Wirken* (2d ed., Berlin, 1906), pp. 42-43.

⁵⁷ *R.V.*, Nov. 24, 1885, I, 50-51. The words were occasioned by a clash between Germans and Czechs in Bohemia, which evoked a different reaction from the party organ, the *S.D.* declaring on November 26, 1885, that "For us there is no specifically national civilization, neither Czech nor German, for us there is only a universal civilization." On June 24, 1886, however, the *S.D.* stated that the internationalism of the German workers did not prevent them from having national sentiments.

⁵⁸ *R.V.*, Jan. 15, 1886, Vol. I.

*to the highest degree, in fighting with all its might the system that is ruling this soil, in defying all persecution, and crying to everyone who wishes to emigrate: "... Stay here and fight with us, this is the ground on which we must fight to create a new world."*⁵⁹

Here Bebel made clear the distinction between Germany, for which the Social Democrats too felt devotion, and the ruling system in Germany, which they bitterly opposed.⁶⁰ Both their internationalism and their nationalism depended on this distinction. And from it Bebel developed the claim that the Social Democrats were not only patriots but the true patriots, since they were willing to make sacrifices for the betterment of their country.⁶¹ Similarly, it was not nationalism which they rejected but the excesses of nationalism.⁶² Theirs was the true nationalism, differing from that of the ruling classes in that they sympathized with the national sentiments of other peoples and refused to condone violations of those rights of other countries that they demanded for Germany. Hence the nationalism of the Social Democrats was consistent with their internationalism, or more accurately, was regarded as a stage in progress toward an international order. For while they recognized national characteristics, accepted national obligations, and declared their love for the Fatherland, which they were ready to defend, on the other hand, they looked forward to the day when, with the success of their efforts and the triumph of their ideas, the nations would find peace and realize their richest potentialities in international union.⁶³

⁵⁹ *S.D.*, Apr. 18, 1880. Bebel was here defending, against the protest of a member of the party, his statement in the *Reichstag* on March 2 that the Social Democrats would take part in the defense of Germany.

⁶⁰ Also Motteler, *R.V.*, Apr. 20, 1874, II, 961, 965; Hasenclever, *ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1874, Vol. I; *S.D.*, June 24, 1886; Grillenberger, *R.V.*, Dec. 4, 1886, Vol. I. When the Dresden *Volksbote* criticized Motteler for asserting in the speech just cited that the Social Democrats were not opponents of the empire as such but of its oppressive institutions, Liebknecht came to Motteler's defense on the ground that he had been misunderstood; Kampffmeyer, *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, LXXIV, 868.

⁶¹ Also Hasselmann, in *Soc.-Dem.*, Jan. 1, 1871; letter from "J" of Hanau, in *N.S.D.*, Jan. 3, 1872; Liebknecht, *R.V.*, Mar. 4, 1885, III, 1539.

⁶² Bebel in the article just quoted (see n. 59): "We do not fight patriotism *as such*, but only insofar as it serves as a means of incitement against foreign nations, insofar as it is used to arouse chauvinism, national hatred, and national vanity, in order to kindle wars . . . which have the sole purpose of making the people less sensitive to their chains by diverting their attention away from conditions at home". Also Bracke, in *V.*, Aug. 27, 1870; "Eine Scandalscene", in *N.S.D.*, Feb. 22, 1874; Hasselmann, *R.V.*, Oct. 10, 1878, I, 148; *S.D.*, May 27, June 3, 1887; cf. Liebknecht, *R.V.*, Feb. 5, 1889, II, 795.

⁶³ *N.S.D.*, Apr. 5, 1872, Sept. 2-9, 1872—Hasselmann, Nov. 4, 1874—"Die deutsche Einheit"; Levy, *Zur orientalischen Frage*, p. 16; Kautsky, "Die moderne Nationalität", in *Neue Zeit*, V (1887), 392-405, 442-51; Liebknecht, *R.V.*, Jan. 11, 1883, I, 840. For the

This attitude is very different from the militant internationalism which the *Communist Manifesto* was designed to arouse, which the Social Democrats often asserted, and with which they were often charged by their foes. The internationalism of the Social Democrats had in fact more kinship with the Wilsonian ideal for the League of Nations⁶⁴ than with the *Communist Manifesto*, and like the League it has succumbed, temporarily at least, to the very forces which it sought to control.

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parallel views of Jean Jaurès see Harold R. Weinstein, *Jean Jaurès* (New York, 1936), *passim*.

⁶⁴ The Social Democrats more than once advocated a league of nations, *e.g.*, *V.*, May 3, 1876; also Bebel, *R.V.*, Nov. 28, 1884, I, 89-90.

BACKGROUND OF CLEVELAND'S VENEZUELAN POLICY

CLEVELAND's Venezuelan policy, regarded primarily as diplomacy, seems paradoxical. Cleveland was one of the most conservative of American presidents and not in the least given to adventure in foreign affairs. Yet the Olney note on the Venezuelan issue and Cleveland's special message to Congress are among the most crudely assertive ever issued by responsible American statesmen. How did it happen that caution so abruptly became rashness? Even in the case of the rugged Cleveland it must be remembered that American foreign policy has always been exposed to many forces extraneous to diplomacy. Cross-currents of political pressure and mobilized opinion are usually at work, and any particular step of American diplomacy may represent the resultant of many forces. Here is the clue this essay will follow in reviewing Cleveland's Venezuelan policy.

In 1895 the tide of nineteenth century imperialism was running strong. Under Harrison and the energetic Blaine it had seemed that the United States was about to join the colonial race. Cleveland, however, had set his face doggedly against this tendency. Particularly by repudiating the Republican policy in Hawaii the Democratic President had demonstrated his repugnance for his predecessor's policy.

Cleveland's natural inclination toward caution in foreign relations was supported by the two men who held the most important American diplomatic appointments. Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham was a friendly mid-Westerner who sought to conciliate and win over by argument the foreign representatives with whom he came in contact, while Thomas F. Bayard, our ambassador to Great Britain, had a kindred preference for the smooth path of gentlemanly compromise.

The predilection of Cleveland, Gresham, and Bayard for a quiet and unassertive foreign policy had a certain amount of support. Many of the mugwumps who had been attracted to Cleveland were typical nineteenth century liberals—free traders and anti-imperialists. Notable among these were Carl Schurz, Oscar Straus, and Edward Atkinson. The New York *Evening Post* and the *Nation*, both directed by E. L. Godkin, were sounding boards for this kind of opinion. Closely allied with this opposition to the diplomacy of force was a growing support for international arbitration.¹

¹ Cleveland was regarded as a friend of the arbitration movement. See numerous

Among those who had no great confidence in the proximity of the era of peace through free trade and arbitration there were a few who believed that the United States should become the ally of England. The Anglo-Saxons, they asserted, were favored by Providence with a special destiny and should stand together against the world. Such sentiments were not yet safe for politicians but were thrown out with some regularity by publicists.² The assumption of Anglo-Saxon unity was to be met more frequently in England than in America. British isolation was already appearing dangerous, and American tourists and journalists in 1895 remarked an eagerness on the part of the English to court American sympathy.³

Although Americans who loved peace for peace's sake or peace with England from racial loyalty were numerous enough to raise an impressive voice in December, 1895, they were far less audible than the aggressive patriots during the early months of the year. The want of spirit in Cleveland's conduct of foreign relations was under attack from many quarters.

Republican politicians and editors led the charge. They resented deeply the rebuke to them inherent in Cleveland's Hawaiian policy; they hated Gresham as a renegade Republican.⁴ Moreover, they had long ago branded the President's tariff views as subservience to Britain and free trade.⁵ The brilliant and caustic Lodge was probably the most formidable critic of Democratic foreign policy, but Senators Cullom of Illinois and Chandler of New Hampshire were equally partisan and outspoken. Young Theodore Roosevelt was using all his growing influence to rout the pacifists. He paid his compliments to anti-imperialists like Edward Atkinson in these words:

memorials in the 1895 and 1896 volumes of the Cleveland Papers in the Library of Congress.

² As illustrative see J. E. Chamberlain, "A Dream of Anglo-Saxondom", *Galaxy*, XXIV (Dec., 1877), 788-91; A. T. Mahan, "The United States Looking Outward", *Atlantic Monthly*, LXVI (Dec., 1890), 816-24; Meath, "Anglo-Saxon Unity", *Fortnightly Review*, Old Series, LV (Apr., 1891), 615-22; Andrew Carnegie, "A Look Ahead", *North American Review*, CLVI (June, 1893), 685-716.

³ *New York Sun*, May 5, 1895; *Boston Evening Transcript*, Nov. 2, 1895.

⁴ Republican bitterness toward Gresham was rebuked by the *Boston Herald*. See the *Literary Digest*, X (Dec. 29, 1894), 248.

⁵ Ex-Governor Russell of Massachusetts said of these incessant Republican attacks: "Our Senators, Hoar and Lodge, are more to blame than any other men. They began upon Mr. Bayard in 1885 and have relentlessly, and most unpatriotically denounced every known movement of the State Department since." Letter to Gresham, Jan. 6, 1895, Gresham Papers, Library of Congress.

These solemn prattlers strive after an ideal in which they shall happily unite the imagination of a green grocer with the heart of a Bengalese baboo. They are utterly incapable of feeling one thrill of generous emotion, or the slightest throb of that pulse which gives to the world statesmen, patriots, warriors, and poets, and which makes a nation other than a lumberer of the world's surface.⁶

If the Democrats had supported the pacific policies of the administration as vigorously as the Republicans attacked them, the State Department might have ignored its critics. But the Republicans had the satisfaction of knowing that their dislike of Clevelandism in foreign affairs was shared in important sections of the Democratic party.

The Democratic chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, John T. Morgan of Alabama, was completely out of sympathy with Cleveland and Gresham.⁷ He was hostile to Cleveland's foreign policy not only because he favored the annexation of Hawaii and more activity in promoting the Isthmian canal, but because he was a silverite. All the silver enthusiasts—Democratic as well as Republican and Populist—portrayed Cleveland's monetary policies as being in the interest of English money lords. Jingoism and hostility to England were integral parts of silver oratory.⁸

The American Irish were another group disturbed by charges that the Cleveland administration was pro-British. Events during the last decade had served to make Irish dislike of England an important political factor. The long-standing alliance of the Irish-Americans with the Democratic party had been challenged throughout the eighties by a persistent effort of the Republicans to woo them away. It had required energetic organization on the Democratic side to hold the Irish in line for Cleveland in 1892.⁹ Practical Democratic politicians still lived in fear that the Republicans might achieve the reputation of being the more valiant defenders of the eagle over the lion.

Peace advocates and jingoes were competing for the ear of the American public in the early months of 1895. By the testimony of all observers, whatever their own prepossession, it was the jingoes who

⁶ "American Ideals", *Forum*, XVIII (Feb., 1895), 749. See also Roosevelt's letter to Lodge, Oct. 27, 1894, *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918* (New York and London, 1925), I, 139.

⁷ Matilda Gresham, *Life of Walter Quintin Gresham, 1832-1895* (Chicago, 1919), II, 765. For Bayard's dislike of Morgan see Bayard to Gresham, May 9, 1895, Gresham Papers.

⁸ Cf. *Reminiscences of Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada*, ed. by George Rothwell Brown (New York and Washington, 1908), p. 320.

⁹ See a long letter of Thos. H. Ronayne to the Democratic National Committee, May 22, 1895, Cleveland Papers.

made their appeal the more effectively. It became common opinion that there was something "un-American" about the spiritless conduct of foreign affairs by the Cleveland administration.

In almost every issue on which jingoes and anti-jingoes clashed, Anglo-American relations were involved. When American expansionists agitated for the annexation of Hawaii, it was asserted that Great Britain was about to seize it; when the same group advocated a great navy, America was menaced by British naval supremacy; when they demanded an American-controlled Isthmian canal, England was intending to dominate the proposed waterway. Editorial writers, like politicians, found baiting England easy and popular. A secretary in the British embassy in Washington wrote that it would be "a comfort to go to a country where one can read the news without finding in every paper an article accusing one's country of every conceivable crime".¹⁰

It was in such an atmosphere that American policy on the Venezuelan question was being formulated. The situation had not caused much popular agitation until March, 1895. Neither Cleveland's advocacy of arbitration of the dispute in his annual message of December, 1894, nor the passage of a congressional resolution to the same effect in February had occasioned any considerable comment. Immediately after the adjournment of Congress, however, newspaper references to the dispute became increasingly frequent. In part this was simply a phase of the general jingo campaign against Cleveland, but ammunition for these particular volleys was supplied by active friends of Venezuela. William L. Scruggs, who had been United States minister to Venezuela under Harrison, was now a special agent of the Venezuelan government and an active propagandist. The preceding fall he had written a pamphlet entitled "British Aggressions in Venezuela, or the Monroe Doctrine on Trial". It was sold on newsstands and distributed gratis and generously to editors and politicians.¹¹ In March another pamphlet, prepared by E. R. Johnes "of counsel" for the Venezuelan government, was making its way into the hands of editors.¹² Other less open influences were doubtless at work. Spring Rice complained: "The South Americans are in with all the low press men and every sort of lie is propagated about British aggression."¹³ Mrs. Gresham in

¹⁰ Spring Rice to his sisters, Mar. 12, 1895, *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice: A Record*, ed. by Stephen Gwynn (Boston and New York, 1929), I, 175.

¹¹ T. D. Jervey, "William Lindsay Scruggs—A Forgotten Diplomat", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII (July, 1928), 292-309.

¹² New York *Sun*, Mar. 23, 1895.

¹³ Letter to Villicers, Apr. 12, 1895, Gwynn, I, 175.

the biography of her husband refers to the activities of speculators, and Bayard in London was alarmed at reports of the manipulations of American concessionaires.¹⁴

The jingo press accepted without question the Venezuelan view of the issue. To the New York *Tribune* the case was "perfectly simple". Venezuela owned the land; Great Britain coveted it and was trying to grab it—by guile if she could, by force if she must.¹⁵ The New York *Sun* declared that, should the Venezuelans be forced to fight for their rights, it would become the duty of American citizens to support them.¹⁶ Inaccurate accounts that Bayard had reported a refusal of the British to arbitrate were handled by even the more peaceful papers in a way likely to irritate American opinion. "None Of Our Business" was the headline summary of the British position as seen by the Boston *Transcript*,¹⁷ while the New York *World*, which was to win great prestige as a peacemaker in December, was indulging in extremely provocative headlines in April.¹⁸

The English, however, failed to heed the danger signals which warned of rising American temper. Just when the Venezuelan issue was approaching a crisis, the British foreign office proceeded to take drastic action against Nicaragua and thus arouse a new tempest of American protest. News of a British ultimatum to this Central American state became public in March, and from then on until the final settlement of the affair in May the newspapers kept the matter almost constantly on the first page under sensational headlines.

Diplomatically the "Corinto affair", as the incident came to be called, was not very important. The British government demanded reparation from Nicaragua for the seizure and expulsion from the latter's territory of several British subjects, including a consular agent. At the expiration of the three-month period set for compliance with these demands, British men-of-war proceeded to Nicaraguan waters, and on April 27 British marines occupied the port of Corinto. On May 2 a settlement was announced accepting the guarantee of Salvador for the payment of the required indemnity, and British evacuation followed promptly. The Cleveland administration handled the matter cautiously. Asked by Nicaragua to intervene against an alleged violation of the Monroe Doctrine, Gresham held that the doctrine was not involved so long as Great Britain evidenced no purpose of permanently

¹⁴ Gresham, II, 794. Bayard to Gresham, Apr. 5, 1895, Cleveland Papers.

¹⁵ May 21, 1895.

¹⁶ Mar. 23, 1895.

¹⁷ Apr. 5, 1895.

¹⁸ E.g., New York *World*, Apr. 5, 1895.

occupying American soil. However, the good offices of the United States were used, first, in an attempt to secure a further period of grace for Nicaragua before the occupation of Corinto, and then in smoothing the way for the eventual settlement.¹⁹

The citizen who learned of these events through the daily press found them presented as much more exciting than they really were. Our Atlantic fleet was cruising in the Caribbean, and every movement of the ships was interpreted as being related to the Nicaraguan affair.²⁰ Official denials that any special significance was to be attributed to these maneuvers served only to whet popular interest.²¹ News dispatches also reported great activity at the State Department, where Gresham was said to have notified the British government that coercive action against Nicaragua would be considered an infraction of the Monroe Doctrine.²²

Having reported that the administration's policy was much more active than it really was, the jingo press then made much of what it portrayed as a backdown by Cleveland and Gresham. "We Will Not Protest", said the New York *Sun* headlines, "England May Land Troops In Nicaragua For All Of Us."²³ The actual occupation of Corinto brought to a head all the hostile criticism of the President. Editorial writers doubted the assurances of Great Britain that no permanent acquisition of territory was contemplated. "All the world knows what a temporary occupation by Great Britain means", asserted the Boston *Post*, while the Philadelphia *Press* declared: "What is the most amazing and embittering is that this act of British aggression is consummated with the assent and sanction of the American Administration."²⁴

The politicians were even more severe than the press in denunciation of Cleveland's policy. Legislative houses in Missouri, Connecticut, and New York passed resolutions condemning what the New York assembly termed "the supineness, dilatoriness and lack of National and patriotic spirit which has characterized the Administration in dealing with this complication".²⁵ Particularly serious for the adminis-

¹⁹ State Department Memorandum sent to Olney, Aug. 10, 1895, Olney Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁰ New York *Sun*, Mar. 20 and 21, 1895; New York *Tribune*, Mar. 20; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Mar. 21.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Mar. 30, Apr. 3, 1895.

²² New York *Tribune*, Apr. 16, 1895.

²³ Apr. 25, 1895. Cf. the New York *Tribune*, Apr. 26.

²⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, Apr. 30, 1895. For other severely critical comments see *Public Opinion*, XVIII (May 2, 1895), 468-69.

²⁵ Cleveland Papers: New York *Tribune*, May 1, May 2, 1895.

tration were pronouncements by leading senators. Shelby Cullom, ranking Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee, was quoted as saying: "If a plain, emphatic protest had been made by the United States Government, England would not have occupied Corinto. Now that she is there, I believe in using force, if necessary, to get her out."²⁶ Senator Morgan vehemently denounced British policy and asserted that Congress would deal with these aggressions in its next session.²⁷ A bitterly sarcastic open letter was directed to the President by Senator Stewart of Nevada. Cleveland was congratulated for his "conspicuous bravery in promoting the policy of the mother country", not only in exterminating "obnoxious bimetallists and pestiferous farmers" opposed to British financial policy but in co-operating cordially "in the policy of conquest and dominion for the mother country".²⁸

The excesses of the jingoes did not pass entirely without rebuke. Senator Hill of New York warned against adventurous and unwarranted applications of the Monroe Doctrine,²⁹ while many newspapers denied that American interests were threatened by the events in Nicaragua.³⁰ The State Department itself attempted a modest bit of civic education by putting out a pamphlet containing the exact words of President Monroe in an attempt to demonstrate the inapplicability of the famous doctrine to this controversy.³¹

The eventual withdrawal of the British seemed to the moderates proof that the administration's policy had been justified. In a note to Gresham the President wrote: "I suppose you hear how matters are straightening out in our foreign relations. Our turn to feel well is at hand and the 'jingoes' are hunting for good back seats."³² The *Boston Transcript* hailed another defeat for the "congressional blatherskites" who were attempting to excite war fever against Great Britain.³³

Criticism of Cleveland and Gresham did not, however, abate in the least. Headlines in the *Tribune* were bitter, and the *Toledo Blade* asserted: "Had James G. Blaine been Secretary of State the past year,

²⁶ *New York World*, May 3, 1895.

²⁷ *New York Tribune*, May 1, 1895.

²⁸ Apr. 30, 1895, Cleveland Papers; *New York World*, May 1, 1895.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Apr. 22, 1895; *New York Tribune*, Apr. 29.

³⁰ *I.e.*, *Washington Star*, *Philadelphia Record*, *Providence Journal*. See the *Literary Digest*, XI (May 4, 1895), 1-2. For a biting criticism of the jingoism of the *Tribune* see the *Nation*, LX (May 2, 1895), 333.

³¹ *Extracts from the Seventh Annual Message of James Monroe, Dec. 2, 1823* (printed for the State Department, Washington, 1895); *New York Tribune*, May 2, 1895.

³² May 4, 1895, Gresham Papers.

³³ May 6, 1895.

Americans would not now be hanging their heads in shame and humiliation.”³⁴ Comments in the British press as quoted in American newspapers were such as to add to Cleveland’s difficulties. On the one side, praise for American neutrality in a tone described as “unctuous adulation”³⁵ lent color to charges that the President was pro-British. On the other hand, some English comment was dangerously provocative. The London *Daily Graphic* called Nicaragua a “martyr to Monroeism” who was being given a “lesson long needed” by Latin America.³⁶ The London *Globe* rejoiced that a “sharp little lesson” had been given not only to Nicaragua but also to the United States, whose disposition to interfere in disputes between smaller states and Europe was as “objectionable” as it was “uncalled for.”³⁷

The Corinto affair, trivial as a diplomatic incident, is essential to an understanding of the background of the Venezuelan policy. Whether or not we had any right to intervene, large sections of the public did not like Great Britain’s heavy-handed method in dealing with a small American state. The Cleveland administration had to take a severe drubbing, and the experience unquestionably influenced its subsequent dealings with England.

Evidences of increasing discontent with Cleveland’s foreign policy were to be found in the rank and file of the Democratic party. “The Old Guard of the Democracy”, said the *Sun*, “has been completely demoralized and estranged by the surrender of American interests.”³⁸ In a meeting of the Connecticut Democratic State Committee the blunt assertion was made that the Democrats of that state did not approve the President’s foreign policy.³⁹ The principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Interstate Democratic Association of the District of Columbia called for the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, which, it was asserted, the British admiral at Corinto had called “an obsolete doctrine” and a “myth”.⁴⁰

Democrats close to the administration shared this impatience with conservatism in diplomacy. William C. Whitney cabled from Italy to commend Gresham for an unexpected display of vigor.⁴¹ Before the American Society in London our ambassador to France, James Eustis,

³⁴ Quoted in *Public Opinion*, XVIII (May 9, 1895), 502. Cf. the *New York Tribune*, May 4, 1895, and the *New York Sun*, May 4.

³⁵ *Boston Transcript*, Apr. 26, 1895.

³⁶ Quoted in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Apr. 25, 1895.

³⁷ Quoted in the *New York Sun*, May 5, 1895.

³⁸ Apr. 24, 1895.

³⁹ *New York Tribune*, May 11, 1895.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1895.

⁴¹ Gresham, II, 787.

indulged in fulsome praise of the United States, which, he said, had great strength but never used it for the oppression of small nations. The *Tribune* and the *Sun* contrasted the patriotic Eustis with Bayard, who—*horribile dictu*—had proposed a toast to Queen Victoria at the same banquet.⁴²

The most notable incident, however, indicating the desire of the Cleveland Democrats to assert their own lusty patriotism was the speech of Don M. Dickinson on May 10. Dickinson was a close friend of Cleveland and had been Postmaster General in his first administration. At a banquet of the Loyal Legion in Detroit he spoke to the provocative toast, "Our Veterans: Can They Hear the Bugle Call?" The hope that the age of wars was past, he said, did not square with the evidence of European imperialism and militarism. He called for a stronger American navy and related the history of England's long hostility to the United States, laying particular stress on Britain's "most extraordinary claims and movements" in Nicaragua and Venezuela.⁴³

Dickinson's speech was widely reported. Many papers assumed that it was intended as a rebuke to Cleveland and Gresham. A few observed the more suggestive fact that it was delivered directly after a trip to Washington on which Dickinson had visited the President and that it probably reflected a growing concern on the part of the administration with the reproaches against its Americanism.⁴⁴

The anxiety of Cleveland over the Venezuelan issue was further evidenced by the fact that the President personally canvassed the field for an exceptional man to assume the duties of minister to Venezuela.⁴⁵ The position was offered in turn to ex-Governor Russell of Massachusetts, to G. L. Rives of New York, and to John Bassett Moore.⁴⁶ Cleveland was apparently still thinking in terms of a cautious policy, because all of these men were prominent critics of the jingoes. Moore had just published a pamphlet on the Monroe Doctrine in which the historic document was very conservatively construed.⁴⁷

Secretary Gresham, meanwhile, was working long hours over the

⁴² New York *Tribune*, Apr. 20, 1895; New York *Sun*, Apr. 20.

⁴³ Detroit *Free Press*, May 10, 1895. ⁴⁴ Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, May 13, 1895.

⁴⁵ The incumbent, Seneca Haselton, had been called home in disgrace after reports of intemperance. New York *World*, May 14, 1895.

⁴⁶ Russell to Cleveland, Apr. 12, 1895; Rives to Cleveland, May 9, 1895; Moore to Cleveland, May 20, 1895. All in the Cleveland Papers.

⁴⁷ *The Monroe Doctrine: Its Origin and Meaning* (New York, 1895; reprinted from the New York *Evening Post*). The vacant diplomatic post was eventually given to Allen Thomas, who had been consul at La Guayra. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII (New York, 1936), 420.

draft of a new note to Great Britain on the boundary dispute. According to his wife, the Secretary was confident that the difficulty could yet be settled without friction, that he could present such a statement of the facts that the British government would accept arbitration.⁴⁸ It is probable, however, that not all the cabinet were content with so cautious a policy.⁴⁹ When Gresham became seriously ill, the persistent Scruggs went directly to the President with an appeal for strong action.⁵⁰

On May 28 death removed Gresham from the perplexities of the State Department. The naming of Richard Olney as his successor was interpreted at once as evidence that the President intended to pursue a more vigorous foreign policy. This was due in part to Olney's reputation for decisive action gained in the Chicago strike crisis but more particularly to reports that the Attorney General had been a conspicuous advocate of firmer diplomacy in recent Cabinet meetings.⁵¹ Most significant of all, it was known that Olney had already been working on the Venezuelan case before the death of Gresham.⁵² The New York *Tribune* asserted at once that a new departure in foreign policy was impending.⁵³ Scruggs responded to the change of personnel in the State Department by sending Olney a copy of his famous pamphlet and a fulsome letter in which the publicist expressed "every confidence in your ability and purpose to make the American name respected abroad".⁵⁴

The determination to stiffen American policy, apparent when Olney took over the State Department, must have been increased by the clear signs that the Republicans were seeking to gain further advantage from the situation. In June the Republican Club of New York City was giving publicity to a report dilating on the British invasion of Nicaragua and the Monroe Doctrine.⁵⁵ In June, also, appeared an important magazine article on the Venezuelan question written by Senator Lodge.⁵⁶ He intended it to pave the way for a stiff declaration of

⁴⁸ Gresham, II, 795. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 798.

⁵⁰ Jerve, *South Atlantic Quar.*, XXVII, 303.

⁵¹ New York *Tribune*, June 8, 1895. Cf. the Boston *Evening Transcript*, May 31.

⁵² Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, June 10, 1895.

⁵³ A curiously accurate prediction of the whole Venezuelan policy is to be found in the *Tribune* for June 11, 1895.

⁵⁴ Scruggs to Olney, June 17, 1895, Olney Papers.

⁵⁵ New York *Tribune*, June 3, 1895.

⁵⁶ "England, Venezuela, and the Monroe Doctrine", *North Am. Rev.*, CLX (June, 1895), 651-58. The tone of the article is suggested by the concluding sentence: "The supremacy of the Monroe Doctrine should be established and at once—peacefully if we can, forcibly if we must."

the Monroe Doctrine by the next Congress. It would "make some of the brethren sit up and take notice".⁵⁷

To Olney and Cleveland, now preparing to take a firm line, one of the most troublesome obstacles was the attitude of Ambassador Bayard. A low opinion of the Spanish-Americans,⁵⁸ a fear of the pressure of speculators, a dislike of jingoism, plus what the *Tribune* called a lack of "the superb and indispensable quality of making himself disagreeable at the proper time"⁵⁹ had made Bayard overcautious in the conduct of negotiations on the Venezuelan matter. Even a subordinate in the London embassy was grumbling about him. On June 22 J. R. Roosevelt wrote to Secretary Lamont:

Mr. Bayard has gone off for a month and I am in charge. He is as good and nice and charming as ever, but sometimes I can't help wishing that we had a little more backbone here. I try hard to get it, but of course I only get sat down upon!! He read Lodge's article and was very angry about it and of course Lodge does make himself ridiculous. But I am certain our English cousins think more of us if we hold up *well* our own end of the line, and don't pat them on the back too much.⁶⁰

Olney's problem, then, was to strengthen American policy, to offset Bayard's lack of vigor, and also to compose a document which would, when eventually published, clear the administration of its reputation for lack of Americanism. The fruit of the Secretary's labors was the famous note of July 20. The logical and historical shortcomings of Olney's dispatch have since been laid bare by able scholars,⁶¹ but the President was much pleased with his Secretary's handiwork.⁶² It is possible that Cleveland was as enthusiastic over the prospect of scoring points over his domestic critics as over Lord Salisbury. He wrote to Dickinson: "In due time it will be found that the Administration has not been asleep. The devils that were cast out of the swine centuries ago have, I am afraid, obtained possession of some so-called Democratic leaders."⁶³

⁵⁷ Lodge to Henry White, June 5, 1895. Allan Nevins, *Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York and London, 1930), p. 108.

⁵⁸ "For the U. S. to place in the control of such a set of men the virtual control of peace and war with European Powers would be simple madness." Bayard to Cleveland, May 11, 1895, Cleveland Papers.

⁵⁹ *New York Tribune*, May 3, 1895.

⁶⁰ Cleveland Papers.

⁶¹ See especially Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1867-1907* (Baltimore, 1937), pp. 153-68.

⁶² Cleveland to Olney, July 7, 1895, Olney Papers. Olney was elated with the President's letter, which he thought "astonishing for the extent of its praise". Olney to his daughter, Mrs. Minot, July 10, 1895, Olney Papers.

⁶³ July 31, 1895, *Letters of Grover Cleveland*, ed. by Nevins (Boston and New York, 1933), p. 402.

Olney's dispatch was composed and sent with the utmost secrecy. Even in the State Department only a very few individuals knew what was happening, and every effort was made to keep the press in the dark.⁶⁴ Cleveland and Olney obviously hoped that by pressing their case vigorously they would achieve something concrete which could be presented to Congress in December—thus heading off an almost certain political field day on foreign affairs. While the new policy was in gestation, there was for a time a lull in the public discussion of the boundary dispute.⁶⁵

By October, however, a new discussion of the Venezuelan dispute had broken forth in the newspapers—much to the annoyance of Cleveland, who blamed leaks in the State Department.⁶⁶ Both English and American journalists were excited by reports that the United States had sent Great Britain a ninety-day ultimatum. The *St. James Gazette* said: "Isn't it awful? But it might be still more awful if we only knew what the blessed Monroe Doctrine was, or what on earth the United States government has got to do with a quarrel between Great Britain and another independent state."⁶⁷ The New York *World* doubted that the diplomats had sent an ultimatum, but "the people have prepared an ultimatum and are ready to enforce it. It is that England shall never control the mouth of the Orinoco or any other American river south of the Canadian line."⁶⁸ The British position seemed absurd to even conservative papers like the Boston *Evening Transcript*, which thus summarized the English case: "Great Britain, having helped herself to a large slice of Venezuelan territory, will submit to arbitration whether she shall have any more."⁶⁹

Long before Salisbury's reply to Olney was ready, the British government took action which the press was quick to interpret as being the real answer to American intervention. First came alarming reports of military preparations being carried out in British Guiana under direct order of Joseph Chamberlain, then colonial secretary in the British government.⁷⁰ Still more inflammatory was the news that the British government was planning to repeat the tactics tried out in

⁶⁴ See letters, Adee to Olney, Aug. 14, 19, 30, 1895, Olney Papers.

⁶⁵ The calm was only relative, however. See, for example, the speech of ex-Governor Campbell of Ohio to Tammany on July 4, New York *World*, July 5, 1895.

⁶⁶ Cleveland to Olney, Oct. 6, 1895, Nevins, ed., *Letters of Cleveland*, p. 412.

⁶⁷ Quoted in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, Oct. 3, 1895.

⁶⁸ Oct. 5, 1895. ⁶⁹ Oct. 18, 1895.

⁷⁰ New York *World*, Oct. 19, 1895; New York *Tribune*, Oct. 19, 1895; *Review of Reviews*, XXVII (Nov., 1895), 520. The English source of these alarmist reports was the *St. James Gazette*.

Nicaragua. A three-month ultimatum was being sent to Venezuela demanding an apology and compensation for the arrest of British subjects within the disputed territory.⁷¹

It was this cool proposal to regard the boundary dispute as a closed matter and to proceed to the punishment of Venezuela on another issue that provoked more heated comment than had yet appeared in the controversy. Front-page headlines in the New York *Tribune* characterized the ultimatum as "A Direct Slap In The Face".⁷² The New Orleans *Picayune* regarded the action of Great Britain as "nothing more than an attempt to extend her territory in South America" and asserted that "the demands of the Monroe Doctrine will receive no attention from Great Britain unless we are prepared to back up our position by a show of force".⁷³

English newspaper comment was scarcely less provocative. "Lord Salisbury's ultimatum", proclaimed the *Times*, "has not come a moment too soon."⁷⁴ The *Westminster Gazette* thought that "Venezuela, like Nicaragua, after much fuss, will probably prove to be small beer."⁷⁵ The *St. James Gazette* was, as usual, the spokesman for the most offensive brand of British imperialism. After a reference to the Monroe Doctrine as a "blessed Mesopotamia" it said: "It would become the position of the United States as a great civilized Power much better to join us in bringing these Spanish-Indian barbarians to order."⁷⁶

Politicians exploited the issue for all it was worth. Theodore Roosevelt was having "fun" making jingo speeches,⁷⁷ while in England, where he was traveling, Senator Lodge expressed strong views to both American and British reporters.⁷⁸ Senator Chandler wrote an editorial for his own Concord (New Hampshire) *Evening Monitor* entitled

⁷¹ Boston *Evening Transcript*, Oct. 19, 1895. The news was authentic. A copy of the ultimatum of Salisbury to the Venezuelan minister of foreign affairs, Oct. 14, 1895, is in the Olney Papers with certification showing that it had been sent to Olney by the Venezuelan government.

⁷² Oct. 22, 1895.

⁷³ Quoted in the New York *Tribune*, Oct. 22, 1895.

⁷⁴ Quoted in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, Oct. 22, 1895.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1895.

⁷⁶ Oct. 21, 1895. This and other clippings from the English jingo press were sent to Olney by Bayard and are to be found in the Olney Papers.

⁷⁷ Roosevelt to Lodge, Oct. 29, 1895, *Roosevelt-Lodge Correspondence*, I, 195.

⁷⁸ New York *World*, Oct. 26, 1895. Reference to an interview in the London *Chronicle* in the New York *World*, Nov. 15. To Roosevelt, Lodge wrote on October 23: "The news I have seen the last day or two as to England and Venezuela has put me on pins and needles to get home. If we allow England to invade Venezuela nominally for reparation, as at Corinto, really for territory, our supremacy in the Americas is over. I am worried and angry beyond words at what I see. England is simply playing the Administration for what she can get." *Roosevelt-Lodge Correspondence*, I, 193.

"Our Coming War with England—A Prediction".⁷⁹ Congressmen Joseph Wheeler of Alabama and Charles H. Grosvenor of Ohio discussed "Our Duty in the Venezuelan Crisis" in the *North American Review*,⁸⁰ while in the same magazine Lieutenant Governor Charles T. Saxton of New York wrote that the great majority of Americans felt "humiliated beyond expression" by the foreign policy of the administration.⁸¹ Cleveland's weakness in asserting the Monroe Doctrine was further denounced by Governor D. H. Hastings of Pennsylvania before a great Republican rally in New York City.⁸²

Prominent Democrats, who were dismayed at the attempt of the Republicans to set up a monopoly in patriotism, urged Cleveland and Olney to be vigorous. A few state elections were being held in November, 1895, and, more important, a presidential campaign was close at hand. William C. Whitney advised Secretary Herbert that Olney was "in a position to bring himself strongly to the front if he would only take a strong stand for the Monroe Doctrine in the matter of Venezuela".⁸³ To Olney himself Whitney wrote: "All the State Department has needed for a long time was a strong man . . . who was not afraid to resist the encroachment of the European powers over here."⁸⁴

From local Democratic politicians, also, came a stream of advice. Olney was assured that the rank and file of the party strongly favored a vigorous enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine.⁸⁵ A party worker in Maryland attributed Democratic defeats in that state to "the Monroe Doctrine" and appealed for ammunition to use against the jingoes.⁸⁶ An Irish officeholder in Boston begged Olney not to let a Democratic administration permit England to "steal any part of this hemisphere".⁸⁷ Congressman Ikert of Ohio wrote that "a little Jingo" would help in electing a friend.⁸⁸ From Wisconsin came advice to call every bluff, and the people "will see you through the woods if it takes all winter and all the surplus in the Treasury".⁸⁹ Most outspoken of all was the counsel of Congressman Thomas M. Paschal of Texas. The Venezuelan issue, he said, was a "winner" from every angle—especially to knock the pus out of the "anarchistic, socialistic & populistic boil".

⁷⁹ Summarized in the *New York Tribune*, Oct. 29, 1895.

⁸⁰ CLXI (Nov., 1895), 630.

⁸¹ "Outlook for Republican Success", *North Am. Rev.*, CLXI, 543.

⁸² *New York Tribune*, Oct. 26, 1895.

⁸³ Herbert to Thurber, Aug. 25, 1895, Cleveland Papers.

⁸⁴ Aug. 16, 1895, Olney Papers. ⁸⁵ Thomas Gargan to Olney, Oct. 19, 1895, *ibid.*

⁸⁶ John K. Cowan to Olney, Nov. 9, 1895, *ibid.*

⁸⁷ Joseph H. O'Neill to Olney, Oct. 31, 1895, *ibid.*

⁸⁸ Oct. 25, 1895, *ibid.* ⁸⁹ R. E. Rosenberger to Olney, Oct. 25, 1895, *ibid.*

Furthermore, a foreign war would help in the assimilation of the "vast stream of immigration that has been pouring in and diffusing itself over the country".⁹⁰

As November slipped away, the impatience of Cleveland and Olney with the failure of Lord Salisbury to reply to the July note increased. For months it had been apparent that the opening of Congress would force a showdown on foreign policy. Morgan, Stewart, Cullom, Chandler, and Lodge had in effect announced their intention of precipitating a bitter debate. Moreover, for months reports had been allowed to circulate unchallenged that the administration was actually taking a strong line in the Venezuelan matter. The supporters of Cleveland expected that the annual message would provide a vindication for the President's policy; his enemies anticipated a revelation of his failure.

Ambassador Bayard, however, continued to pursue extremely cautious tactics. He had not found an opportunity to deliver Olney's note to Lord Salisbury until August 7. His report of the interview referred to a previous minister's "uncertainty as to the wisdom or expediency of renewing our recommendations for a settlement by arbitration between the two Powers" and expressed a desire to keep such questions "in the atmosphere of serene and elevated effort".⁹¹ Bayard's lack of enthusiasm for the Olney policy was evident also in a letter to Cleveland in which he asserted: "The principles involved are serious—and the facts complicated—as necessarily must be the case where responsibility for the acts and rights of an independent third party is assumed."⁹² In October he wrote Olney that he was indisposed to express his anxiety to secure a reply from the British foreign office.⁹³ As late as November 23 he reported: "The circumstances which have caused delay are not doubtful and it would be unjust to suppose that it has arisen from any other than involuntary obstructions."⁹⁴ The failure of Lord Salisbury's reply to arrive in Washington before the delivery of the annual message was a most unfortunate added irritant to Anglo-American friction. Although this delay was largely caused by a stupid misunderstanding in the British foreign office as to the date of the opening of Congress, it seems probable that Bayard did little to impress the British government with the urgency of the situation.

The President could only refer in his regular message to the acute

⁹⁰ Oct. 23, 1895, *ibid.*

⁹¹ Quoted in Adeed to Olney, Aug. 19, 1895, *ibid.* The previous minister referred to was Phelps.

⁹² Sept. 10, 1895, Cleveland Papers.

⁹³ Oct. 21, 1895, Olney Papers.

⁹⁴ Bayard to Olney, *ibid.*

stage into which the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela had passed and assure the legislators that the United States had taken a firm position based on the Monroe Doctrine and was waiting for a British reply.⁹⁵ There was something of anticlimax in this, and a curiously mixed response resulted from the country. On December 4 the New York *Tribune* was complimenting the President on his commitment to the "identical program which *The Tribune* first outlined", but two days later the same paper was pouring scorn on Cleveland for "Begging an Answer". Some letters coming to the President's desk praised him for asserting the Monroe Doctrine, others for resisting the tide of jingoism.⁹⁶

It was commonly assumed that Congress would take some action. The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* declared: "The people are now more importunate in the demand for a more American foreign policy than anything else. It is the latest of popular demands and this Congress is sure to heed it."⁹⁷ It is evident that Cleveland considered the legislators as the factor in the situation most likely to force action. When he left Washington for a brief hunting trip, he directed Olney to put Salisbury's reply, if it arrived, into his pocket "so that no one will know that you have it until I return. . . . If I were here, I would not be hurried in the matter even if the Congress should begin grinding again the resolution-of-inquiry mill."⁹⁸

Not one, but several, congressional mills began to grind at once. Lodge introduced a resolution affirming the Monroe Doctrine—much to the delight of Theodore Roosevelt.⁹⁹ Senator Cullom introduced a similar resolution and spoke for an hour in its support.¹⁰⁰ Senator Morgan attacked England in a two-hour speech reviewing the Bering Sea

⁹⁵ J. D. Richardson, ed., *Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1907), IX, 632.

⁹⁶ The president of a Monroe Doctrine League in New York urged Cleveland to accept a third term to carry out his vigorous policy (G. W. Gibbons to Cleveland, Dec. 3, 1895); the leading congressional champion of Venezuela endorsed the President's "strong and patriotic views" (Livingston to Cleveland, Dec. 4, 1895); John Bassett Moore was so disturbed by the implications of the reference to Venezuela that he wrote a twelve-page letter of warning to a member of the Cabinet (Moore to Wilson, Dec. 10, 1895). On the other hand, two correspondents from Illinois found the message commendable because it routed the jingoes (Chester Simmons to Cleveland, Dec. 4, Lambert Tree to Cleveland, Dec. 5, 1895). All in the Cleveland Papers.

⁹⁷ Quoted in the New York *Tribune*, Dec. 14, 1895.

⁹⁸ Cleveland to Olney, Dec. 3, 1895, Nevins, ed., *Letters of Cleveland*, p. 416.

⁹⁹ *Congressional Record*, XXVIII, 24. Roosevelt to Lodge, Dec. 6, 1895, *Roosevelt-Lodge Correspondence*, I, 199.

¹⁰⁰ *Congressional Record*, XXVIII, 25, 108-12.

controversy.¹⁰¹ Ambassador Bayard was raked over the coals in the House on an issue unrelated to the boundary dispute but with an animosity due in part, no doubt, to the unpopularity of his reputed Anglophilism.¹⁰² Most interesting maneuver of all was a resolution offered by Representative Livingston of Georgia. He proposed the creation of a joint congressional committee to examine into the facts connected with the Venezuelan dispute and to recommend a course of action.¹⁰³ To reporters Livingston explained that such a committee could sit in the United States and that he had in his own possession all the necessary data for a thorough investigation. In case Great Britain refused to renounce territory held in violation of Venezuela's rights, the representative claimed that all the Democrats and two thirds of the Republicans in the House would favor declaring war.¹⁰⁴ Livingston may not have been a bad judge of congressional sentiment on the issue; he had been the author of the resolution on Venezuela which had passed Congress in the spring without a dissenting vote.

The leadership which Congress might have assumed was, however, taken by the administration. The sequence of events is well known. Salisbury's reply—imposing in its dialectic but very irritating in tone—at length arrived. Cleveland returned from his hunting, and the stout special message was composed and sent to Congress. The tumultuous response in Congress and in the country at large may be attributed less to the emotion-raising potency of the President's phrases than to the fact that he seemed at last to be marching in time with the martial music which had been stirring American spirits.

It would be inconsistent with the character of Cleveland to conclude that the famous message was motivated either by the demagogic seizure of a popular issue or by a surrender to political pressure. Courage, honesty, and a sense of duty were basic qualities with the President, and he challenged England on the Venezuelan issue only after he became personally convinced that the Monroe Doctrine was at stake and that it was his duty to maintain it.

Nevertheless, no statesman, however independent, can isolate himself from the prevailing spirit of his times. It was the agitation of the issue by politicians and journalists which must explain both the seriousness with which the administration came to consider a distant boundary dispute and also the aggressive tone which the Olney note and the Cleveland message displayed. In reality a crisis existed independently

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-90.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 114-25.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ *New York Tribune*, Dec. 4, 1895.

of the action of the President. It grew out of the insistent demand of influential groups that the United States intervene in the Venezuelan situation. Had Cleveland failed to act and had hostilities arisen between Venezuela and England, a much worse situation than the December crisis might have resulted. Any prolonged struggle would have created a state of affairs perilously like that which involved us in war in 1898. It is, in fact, as evidence of the rising tide of aggressive American nationalism that the Venezuelan crisis is most interesting. A friend of Cleveland thus described the atmosphere of 1895:

The mere political situation need not alarm us, but we have to do with that most mysterious, most reasonless, yet most constant and controlling force in public affairs: that of periods or cycles. Not the mere wobbling from election to election, but something of longer range and deeper source. I note that it was just thirty years from the end of the Revolution to the beginning of the war of 1812, and just thirty years from the end of that war to the beginning of the Mexican. Neither of these last wars was necessary and they were repugnant to a large, respectable portion of the population. But the time had come around for a fight. It is now thirty years, the length of a generation, since the great Civil War. Most Americans now living remember nothing of it. Vaguely and uneasily that part of the beast in man appears to be rousing in our country. How came it in? How comes the sea in? The proofs are nowhere, the signs are everywhere.¹⁰⁵

Despite the dangerous state of American feeling no war with England resulted. Various factors contributed to insure a peaceful settlement. In the first place, it should be remarked that, belligerent though Cleveland and Olney had been, their desire and purpose was peace. It is possible that even the wording of Olney's note and his own special message seemed less strong to the President than to others. This was often true of the language which Cleveland used. At all events, Cleveland's action in December furnished the opportunity for all peace-loving elements to assert themselves. A major portion of the British public at once demanded some settlement other than war, while in the United States pressure for a peaceful solution, although not so nearly universal, was very strong in certain localities and among certain influential professions—in New York and Boston, for example, and among businessmen, educators, and the clergy. Lord Salisbury and Joseph Chamberlain were as little desirous of allowing the controversy to proceed to a violent end as were Cleveland and Olney. Particularly after the Jameson raid and the Kruger telegram the danger of England's isolation and the reality of Germany's hostility were patent. Step by step the British government retreated from the position taken

¹⁰⁵ A. B. Farquhar to Mrs. Cleveland, Dec. 20, 1895, Cleveland Papers.

in Lord Salisbury's note. At length the consent of all parties was obtained for the settlement of the boundary dispute by an international arbitration with the proviso that occupation of territory for fifty years by either Venezuela or Great Britain should be judged to constitute title. Although the final decision of the arbitral body failed to recognize the extreme Venezuelan claims which American editors had been championing, opinion in this country was generally satisfied. England had been successfully challenged and induced to recognize the special position of the United States in the Americas. This pleased our nationalists, who were, after all, not primarily interested in just where the vagrant Venezuelan boundary finally came to rest.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE ORIGINS OF PAN-ISLAMISM

AN examination of the literature concerning Pan-Islamism reveals that there have always been conflicting and even contradictory notions about the origins and character of the movement.¹ The reasons for this confusion seem to lie in the difficulties of language and the methods of study. Too many writers on diplomacy and on Near Eastern and Asiatic topics have had no firsthand knowledge of sources and little appreciation of the Oriental point of view. On the other hand, while orientalist have corrected many errors of perspective and have laid down an adequate theoretical background for studying Pan-Islamism, few have been interested in examining critically the actual facts and immediate circumstances involved. Furthermore, each specialist has tended to deal with the subject from the viewpoint of that particular

¹ The best and fullest discussions of the subject are: C. H. Becker, "Panislamismus", *Vom Werden und Wesen der islamischen Welt: Islamstudien* (Leipzig, 1924-32), II, 231-51 (reprinted from *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, VII [1904], 169-92); Behdjat Wahby Bey, "Pan-Islamism", *Nineteenth Century*, LXI (May, 1907), 860-72; L. W. C. van den Berg, "Het Panislamisme", *Gids*, LXIV (Nov.-Dec., 1900), 228-69 and 392-431; E. G. Browne, "Pan-Islamism", in *Lectures on the History of the Nineteenth Century*, F. A. Kirkpatrick, ed. (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 306-30; Gabriel Charney, *L'avenir de la Turquie: Le Panislamisme* (Paris, 1883), parts of which were first published as "La situation de la Turquie", *Revue des deux mondes*, 3^e pér., XLVII (1881), 721-61, and XLIX (1882), 833-69; Valentine Chirol, "Pan-Islamism", *Proceedings of the Central Asian Society*, Nov. 14, 1906; J. T. von Eckardt, "Panislamismus und islamitische Mission", *Deutsche Rundschau*, XCVIII (1899), 61-81; C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Les confréries religieuses, la Mecque, et le Panislamisme", *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XLIV (1901), 262-81; Hans Kohn, *History of Nationalism in the East* (New York, 1929), chap. III; *Mohammedan History* (Peace Handbooks, Vol. X, No. 57, London, 1920), 41-62; "Pan-islamism", *Mir Islama*, II (1913), 1-30; Lothrop Stoddard, *New World of Islam* (New York, 1921), chap. II; A. Vambéry, "Pan-Islamism", *Nineteenth Cent.*, LX (Oct., 1906), 547-58; K. Vollers, "Über Panislamismus", *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CXVII (July, 1904), 18-40; George Young, "Pan-Islamism", *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XI (New York, 1933), 542-44; G. Wyman Bury, *Pan-Islam* (London, 1919), is primarily concerned with the World War period. References on the caliphate, often as valuable as those on Pan-Islamism, are given below, *passim*, but an excellent article is that by A. H. Lybyer, "Caliphate", in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. See also the excellent surveys of contemporary Islam: H. A. R. Gibb, ed., *Whither Islam?* (London, 1932); Richard Hartmann, *Die Krisis des Islam* (Morgenland, Darstellungen aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens, No. 15, Leipzig, 1928); and Zaki Ali, *Islam in the World* (Lahore, 1938).

section of the Moslem world—North Africa, Turkey, Persia, India, or elsewhere—that he has known best. There is, therefore, no study of Pan-Islamism that reveals satisfactorily the exact details of its rise and development during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In regard to the general character of Pan-Islamism the orientalists have clearly shown that its ultimate objective was the “realization of the Islamic ideal, the unity of the world in Islam, the central direction under a leader (Imām) of the world community”, and that the basic concept from which thought and action sprang was religious rather than racial or national.² But they deal with the question of origins—the when and the how of this thought and action—more vaguely. C. H. Becker and C. Snouck Hurgronje, two of the ablest scholars who have written on the subject, distinguish between the Pan-Islamic idea or *Tendenz* which is inherent in Islam and the movement itself. They believe that the latter came about only when Abdul Hamid II tried to utilize the Pan-Islamic tendency for essentially political purposes.³ Many other writers agree with them, contending that the sultan’s objective was to enhance his prestige and power through emphasis upon his headship of the Islamic world by virtue of the title of caliph.⁴

While there is much to be said for this point of view, the orientalists have not thoroughly investigated just what or who prompted Abdul Hamid’s attempt. Becker and Hurgronje even failed to suspect that the frequent dating of the beginning of the Pan-Islamic policy after the Congress of Berlin in 1878 is both too late and too definite. Those, however, who have noted an earlier beginning of the enhancement of the caliphate have been disappointingly vague about men and events and have merely pointed out, as does A. J. Toynbee, that in the century “which began with the negotiation of the Russo-Turkish peace treaty of Küçük Qaynāriyah in A. D. 1774 and ended with the accession of Abdu’l Hamid II to the Ottoman throne in 1876 the Ottoman Caliphate

² Quotation from Becker, “Panislamismus”, *Islamstudien*, II, 242.

³ *Id.*, *Islamstudien*, II, 161, 232, 350, and Hurgronje, *Rev. Hist. Relig.*, XLIV, 271. Cf. C. A. Nallino, *Notes on the Nature of the “Caliphate” in General and on the Alleged “Ottoman Caliphate”* (Rome, 1919), and Vollers, *Preuss. Jahrb.*, CXVII, 29-34, who criticizes Becker’s “Panislamismus”.

⁴ This view is more or less firmly held by Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 173-74; Berg, *Gids*, LXIV, 233; Chirol, “Downfall of the Ottoman Khilafat”, *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, XI (1924), 231; E. Ghersi, *I movimenti nazionalistici nel mondo musulmano* (Padua, 1932), p. 12; Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, “Ferments in the World of Islam”, *Jour. Central Asian Soc.*, XIV (1927), 130-32; Sir Harry Luke, *Making of Modern Turkey* (London, 1936), pp. 133-37; “Panislamism”, *Mir Islama*, II, 6; Young, *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XI, 542-43.

ceased to be merely titular and became for the first time an active factor in international affairs".⁵

An effort to document such a statement and to determine from European sources alone the first steps in the direction of Pan-Islamism can result in merely tentative conclusions, but certain aspects of the study seem fairly clear. The word Pan-Islamism in its various forms is apparently of European coinage and was probably adopted in imitation of Pan-Slavism, which had become current in the 1870's. While Gabriel Charmes perhaps made the word popular by his articles and book of 1881-82, the first use thus far discovered is that in a German work of Franz von Werner, published in 1877 but written before July, 1876, wherein he speaks rather vaguely and without further explanation of the Young Turkish party or coterie, "die den 'Pan-Islamismus' in ihr Programm aufgenommen hat".⁶ Certainly a very early if not the first appearance of any variant of the word in English—and in a context which makes the meaning clear—occurred in a letter of Arminius Vambéry dated December 31, 1877, and published in the *Daily Telegraph* (London), January 12, 1878: "I repeat therefore . . . that the Moslem population of India, amongst whom *Panislamic* ideas are spreading from day to day, will not remain inactive in the future should the Christian West continue to indulge in the sport of modern crusades."⁷

It may be confidently assumed, therefore, that there was some kind of talk, and probably activity, which could be called Pan-Islamic long before the name became current. One difficulty which immediately

⁵ Arnold J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs, 1925*, I (London, 1927), 32-33. Cf. Arnold, p. 173; Gibb, p. 42; A. de La Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris, 1914), II, 178-79; and Zaki Ali, p. 87.

⁶ Charmes, cited above, n. 1; Franz von Werner (Murad Effendi, pseud.), *Türkische Skizzen* (Leipzig, 1877), I, 95. Another and abler German observer, writing about the same time, says of an article in the Turkish newspaper *Bassiret* that it contained a call to a kind of crusade of Islam against Europe in proposing a propaganda "something like Pan-Slavism or the Jesuit order". A. D. Mordtmann (Ein Osmaner, pseud.), *Stambul und das moderne Türkentum* (Leipzig, 1877), p. 242.

⁷ "England, Turkey, and Asia", *Daily Telegraph*, Jan. 12, 1878, p. 3 (*italics mine*). *Mohammedan History*, p. 44, puts the first appearance of the word in English at 1882, and Murray's *New English Dictionary*, VII (Oxford, 1909), 424, gives the *Times*, Dec. 29, 1881, for the first use. Probably the first article using the word in the title was that of Sir Richard Temple, "Pan-Islamism or Political Muhammadanism", *Evening News*, July, 1882, reprinted in *Oriental Experience* (London, 1883), chap. xiv. Use in French which may antedate Charmes's work is that in an anonymous article entitled "L'Angleterre et la Russie en Orient", *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, X (1896), 56-118 and 171-222, which, the editors say, was written by a diplomat and dated December, 1877. The term could very well have been interpolated into the text at a later date, however.

arises, however, in attempting to trace the development of Pan-Islamism lies in the disagreement among orientalists and Orientals as to the significance of ideas and events. E. G. Browne professed not to know any Arabic, Turkish, or Persian term corresponding to Pan-Islamism, and when he asked a Mohammedan friend about it, he was told that it was "a mare's nest discovered by the *Times'* correspondent at Vienna".⁸ Margoliouth, relying upon Arabic sources, called Pan-Islamism "a phantasm", and Syed Ameer Ali, an Indian scholar, defined it as "a figment of the brain, an invention designed to help in destroying the liberty of Mussulman natives".⁹ Without accepting the extreme view represented in these opinions, the student may be warned by them not to rush to conclusions whenever the unity or brotherhood of Islam or the universal authority of the sultan-caliph are mentioned. He may well follow the example of those scholars who have attempted to distinguish between theory and definite acts or organizations.

Furthermore, as the quotation from Vambéry suggests and as most writers agree, the tendency toward Pan-Islamism was one aspect of the reaction of Moslems to the impact of the Christian West. At the same time Pan-Islamic propaganda was made possible, perhaps actually engendered, by the mechanical progress in communications, the introduction of the printing press, and the increase of commerce brought to the Islamic world from the West.¹⁰ Thus, neither the intellectual and religious bent nor the actual steps to exploit it should be separated from their proper context of Oriental-Occidental cultural and political conflict.

But in examining the relation of Pan-Islamism to the cultural transformation getting under way by the middle of the nineteenth century in the Islamic world and particularly in Turkey, another problem arises. Was Pan-Islamism an essentially progressive or liberal move-

⁸ Browne, in Kirkpatrick, pp. 306-307 and 323-24. Cf. *Mohammedan History*, pp. 44 and 53, and Vollers, *Preuss. Jahrb.*, CXVII, 38.

⁹ D. S. Margoliouth, "Pan-Islamism", *Proc. Central Asian Soc.*, Jan. 12, 1912, pp. 3-4 and 16-17; Syed Ameer Ali, *ibid.*, pp. 19-20. For similar expressions see B. Musurus-Ghikis, "L'avenir de l'Islam", *Questions diplomatiques et coloniales*, XI (1901), 596-97; Rafiuddin Ahmad, "Moslem View of the Panislamic Revival", *Nineteenth Cent.*, XLII (Oct., 1897), 517-26; Ibrahim Hakki Pasha (Ancien Grand Vézir, pseud.), "Réflexions sur le rôle de la Turquie", *Revue politique internationale*, II (1914), 356-58; Behdjat Wahby Bey, *Nineteenth Cent.*, LXI, 860-63; and Bury, p. 13.

¹⁰ See "L'Angleterre et la Russie", *Rev. Hist. Dipl.*, X, 61-62; Becker, "Panislamismus", *Islamstudien*, II, 239-42; Hartmann, pp. 20-21; Hurgronje, *Holy War "made in Germany"* (New York, 1915), pp. 23-25; Helmut von Ritter, "Die Abschaffung des Kalifats", *Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, II (1924), 329-50; and A. Wirth, "Panislamismus", *Deut. Rundschau*, CLXIII (June, 1915), 432-33.

ment which became reactionary in the hands of Abdul Hamid II; was it allied from the first with the reactionary attempts to fall back upon old traditions and old ways; or was it an undercurrent common to all groups regardless of their various attitudes toward the West? Again, both the secondary and the source material at hand in western European languages offer confusing and contradictory views.

Although some writers link an active Pan-Islamic movement with fanatical religious reformers like the Wahabi and with such religious brotherhoods as that of the Senussi, Becker and Hurgronje discredit such an interpretation.¹¹ Nevertheless, there are tales of "religious fanatics" inspiring both Abdul Hamid II and his predecessor, Abdul Aziz, to champion the cause of Islam against Christendom and of the conservative Turkish press in the early 1870's preaching crescentades against the enemies of Islam.¹² Ali Pasha and other "Old Turks" are credited with the same ideas.¹³ But curiously enough, although the attempt to emphasize the sultan's religious primacy was often regarded by contemporaries as a sign of Oriental fanaticism, scholars have proved that the concept of the caliph as equivalent to the Roman Catholic pope, that is, as having spiritual distinct from temporal power, is foreign to Islam. Hence the idea, when it was promulgated by Moslems, was itself an importation from the West.¹⁴ On the other hand, Midhat Pasha and his "Young Turk" group, who were thought to be desirous of liberal reforms, wrote or permitted to be written into the constitution of 1876 clauses which described the sultan as the "Supreme Caliph" of Islam

¹¹ Becker, "Panislamismus", *Islamstudien*, II, 248-50; and Hurgronje, *Rev. Hist. Relig.*, XLIV, 262-81.

¹² "L'Angleterre et la Russie", *Rev. Hist. Dipl.*, X, 60-62; Victor Bérard, *Le sultan, l'Islam, et les puissances* (Paris, 1907), p. 33; Charines, *L'avenir*, pp. 143-44; Henry O. Dwight, *Turkish Life in War Time* (New York, 1881), pp. 386-87; Gibb, pp. 44-47; Hurgronje, *Rev. Hist. Relig.*, XLIV, 266-70; Mordtmann, pp. 129-30 and 240-43 (certainly one of the most valuable contemporary accounts of Moslem feeling); Rouire, "La Jeune-Turquie et l'avenir du Panislamisme", *Ques. Dipl. et Col.*, XXVIII (1909), 257-59; Temple, p. 324; Vambéry, *Nineteenth Cent.*, LX, 548. The sultan, of course, may have been inspired by purely political motives, hoping to hold his empire together by using the religious appeal.

¹³ Vambéry, *Nineteenth Cent.*, LX, 548, and *Western Culture in Eastern Lands* (New York, 1906), p. 351. Cf. Mordtmann, p. 15. Such terms as "Old Turks" and "Young Turks" were used so loosely by Western writers in the period under discussion that they often had little meaning.

¹⁴ Becker, "Der Islam als Weltanschauung", *Islamstudien*, I, 50-51, and "Der türkische Staatsgedanke", *ibid.*, II, 335-41; Toynbee, pp. 33-36; Gottfried Simon, *Islam und Christentum* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 36-37; Ritter, *Arch. f. Pol. und Gesch.*, II, 349 and 360-66. Ritter summarizes the arguments used by Turkish statesmen for the abolition of the caliphate in 1923.

and laid upon him the duty of protecting the Mohammedan religion.¹⁵ Finally, Jamal ud-Din al-Afghani, who is given credit for being perhaps the earliest and greatest intellectual founder and leader of Pan-Islamism, may be described as a Moslem progressive.¹⁶

Thus one must conclude either that the tendency toward Pan-Islamism was so strong and so universal that, at least in the Ottoman Empire, reactionaries, liberals, and Moslem progressives all reflected it, or else that the attitudes of the Moslem leaders have been misunderstood and incorrectly reported. Probably something of both may be found to be true.

Nevertheless, there is another context from which a study of Pan-Islamism cannot be separated, namely, the imperialistic rivalry of the Western Powers. In the period between 1850 and 1880 the most serious conflict which directly affected Islam was that of Russia and England in the Near East and in Central Asia, just as at a later date other rivalries developed to a critical point in Egypt, Morocco, and Tripoli. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most willing and eager supporters of the Ottoman caliphate in the earlier period were Central Asiatic and Indian Moslems,¹⁷ who, at the mercy of both British and Russian expansionists, frequently discussed the idea of a Moslem league and occasionally appealed to the Turkish sultan for aid.¹⁸ Though no solid achievement came of such activities, the sultan kept in touch with Central Asiatics who might be residing in Constantinople or passing

¹⁵ Kohn, p. 45, and Toynbee, p. 42.

¹⁶ Among the many references to Jamal ud-Din the most valuable are: Edward G. Browne, *Persian Revolution of 1905-1909* (Cambridge, 1910), chap. 1, and I. Goldziher, "Djamil al-Din al-Afghani", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I (Leyden and London, 1913), 1008-11. Diametrically opposite views of his policy are presented by Margoliouth, *Proc. Central Asian Soc.*, Jan. 12, 1912, pp. 7-11, who considers him anti-English, and the author of "Panislamism", *Mir Islama*, II, 2-4, who says he was known as the "English Panislamist".

¹⁷ Cf. Toynbee, p. 39. In 1900 Berg, *Gids*, LXIV, 435, considered Central Asiatics along with Chinese Mohammedans to be among those least interested in Pan-Islam.

¹⁸ Many of the following references obviously are based upon some single source which is probably Russian: H. Blerzy, "Les révolutions de l'Asie Centrale", *Rev. Deux Mondes*, 3^e pér., V (1874), 138, 141-44; G. Lejean, "La Russie et l'Angleterre", *ibid.*, 2^e pér., LXIX (1867), 702; Charmes, "La situation de la Turquie", *ibid.*, 3^e pér., XLVII (1881), 741; Frederick von Hellwald, *Russians in Central Asia* (London, 1874), pp. 161-63, 167, 207, 226; Eugene Schuyler, *Turkestan* (New York, 1876), I, 355; R. Bosworth Smith, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism* (London, 1874), pp. 246-47; M. A. Terent'ev, *Russia and England in Central Asia* (Calcutta, 1876), I, 49-52, 81-82, 90, 103-104, 135, 210, II, 48-49, and *Srednei Azii* (1906), I, 231-34, 485-86; Vambéry, *Sketches of Central Asia* (London, 1868), pp. 44-45, and *Central Asia* (London, 1874), pp. 344-45.

through the city¹⁹ and sometimes sent missions to their rulers. One of the best known was that to Yakub Beg of Kashgar, who was granted the title of Commander of the Faithful by Abdul Aziz and even coined money in the name of the sultan.²⁰

Just what does this activity signify? Some contemporaries insisted that it meant nothing and that Central Asiatic Moslems were indifferent or even hostile toward the sultan-caliph.²¹ One observer, however, believed that the very practice of exchanging missions in itself brought about a Moslem league.²² Vambéry, after residence in Constantinople and a journey through Central Asia in the 1860's, concluded that there was no longer any trace, at least among the Ottomans, of the animated diplomatic intercourse with Turkestan which was characteristic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²³ Whatever the truth may be, it is quite possible that talk of leagues and exchanges of missions were of less significance for Pan-Islamism than Great Britain's policy toward Russia.

There is more than a little evidence to show that British activity was as important as any other factor in the development of Pan-Islamism during the reign of Abdul Aziz and the early years of Abdul Hamid II. The interests of Great Britain were linked with those of the sultan by the fact that both were rulers of Moslem peoples and that both, along with the Mohammedans of Central Asia, were threatened by Russian expansion. In India propaganda for recognition of the sultan as caliph, favored by the disappearance of Moghul rule in 1857 and by the loss of independence of the outstanding Asiatic khans a little later, was turned

¹⁹ *Id.*, *Nineteenth Cent.*, XLIV, 548, *Sketches*, pp. 16-19, and *History of Bokhara* (London, 1873), pp. 400, 419; and A. H. Layard, *Memoirs*, V (British Museum, Add. MS. 38935), ff. 42-43, and letter to Lytton, *Therapia*, June 14, 1877 (*ibid.*, Add. MS. 39130), f. 36.

²⁰ On the Kashgar mission: Louis E. Frechtling, "Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Eastern Turkestan, 1863-81", *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.*, XXVI (July, 1939), 478-80; Terent'ev, *Russia and England*, I, 288-90; and Schuyler, II, 323-25. For others: "L'Angleterre et la Russie", *Rev. Hist. Dipl.*, X, 62; Eastern Statesman, "Impending Crisis in Turkey", *Contemporary Review*, XXXVIII (Sept., 1880), 509; James Hutton, *Central Asia* (London, 1875), pp. 276-77. There are few names or dates given by most authors, and as in the case of references in n. 18 above, stories of missions read as if drawn from one or two common sources of information.

²¹ Blerzy, *Rev. Deux Mondes*, 3^e pér., V, 428; Lejean, *ibid.*, 2^e pér., LXIX, 685-86; Eastern Statesman, *Contemp. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 509; Terent'ev, *Srednei Azii*, I, 234; Vambéry, *Central Asia*, p. 353.

²² "L'Angleterre et la Russie", *Rev. Hist. Dipl.*, X, 62.

²³ Vambéry, *Bokhara*, pp. 405-406, and *Central Asia*, pp. 167-68. Cf. Mordtmann, pp. 53-54, who agrees with him, and William Gifford Palgrave, *Essays on Eastern Questions* (London, 1872), p. 61, who presents contrary evidence.

to account by the British, who admonished their "forty million" Moslems to be loyal to the government which was the caliph's friend.²⁴ In the hope of blocking Russian expansion in Central Asia, Englishmen are said to have participated in the efforts to form Moslem leagues.²⁵ Certainly the British government co-operated cordially in the missions to and from Yakub Beg of Kashgar. This situation led Terent'ev, the well-known Russian authority on Central Asia, to declare, in commenting upon the relations between Yakub and the sultan:

If, for instance it were possible for any individual to stand at the head of a Mahomedan confederation, such an individual is to be found in the person of the Sultan of Turkey alone, and the existing alliance and cordial agreement which indissolubly bind Turkey and England, render a protectorate [over Kashgar] of these two powers a serious menace to Russia.²⁶

It would be too much to say that whatever encouragement was given by Great Britain to the development of Pan-Islamism was a well-defined policy. In the early years of Abdul Hamid II it was the work of a few officials backed by a comparatively small circle of imperialists at home.²⁷ As the Near Eastern crisis of 1875-78 developed and opinion in England, led by Gladstone, for a time effectively prevented the government from continuing the Crimean War policy of openly supporting Turkey against Russia, the only way for those in the government and in the foreign and Indian services to prove their sympathy for

²⁴ "L'Angleterre et la Russie", *Rev. Hist. Dipl.*, X, 177-80; Becker, "Die Türkei im Weltkriege", *Islamstudien*, II, 266-67, "Kriegsdiskussion", *ibid.*, p. 292, and "Islam-politik", *ibid.*, p. 327; W. S. Blunt, *Future of Islam* (1882), pp. 79-81; Anonymous, *L'Empire ottoman, 1839-77* (Paris, 1877), pp. 233-39; W. W. Hunter, *Indian Muslims* (London, 1871), pp. 133-35; Hurgonje, *Holy War*, pp. 27-28; Malcolm MacColl, "Muslims of India and the Sultan", *Contemp. Rev.*, LXXI (1897), 280-94; Toynbee, pp. 36-38, 40-41. This policy was followed as early as 1799, when the enemy was Napoleon instead of Russia. See Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadwi, "Khilafat and the Koreish", *Foreign Affairs*, II (London, July, 1920), Special Supplement, p. viii.

²⁵ Terent'ev, *Russia and England*, II, 46-52. Terent'ev was an Anglophobe and no doubt exaggerated the part played by Great Britain in fomenting trouble against Russia. He may, however, reflect something of what Central Asiatics thought, which is the important question here. Cf. Blunt, p. 79, and Hajji A. Browne, *Bonaparte in Egypt* (London, 1907), pp. 324-25.

²⁶ Terent'ev, *Russia and England*, I, 290. See also Frechtling, *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.*, XXVI, 476.

²⁷ Englishmen were not agreed upon the validity of the sultan's claim to the caliphate nor upon his influence over Indian Moslems. A typical controversy over these matters is that between George Birdwood, letters to the editor, the *Times*, July 9, Oct. 15 and 18, 1877, and George P. Badger, "Precedents and Usages regulating the Muslim Khalifate", *Nineteenth Cent.*, II (Sept., 1877), 274-82, and letter to the editor, the *Times*, Oct. 12, 1877. Cf. also J. W. Redhouse, *Vindication of the Ottoman Sultan's Title of "Caliph"* (London, 1877), and Temple, p. 319.

Turkey and perhaps to help bolster her up was to emphasize the religious unity of Islam. The best example of this point of view is Austen Henry Layard, who, time and again after his arrival in 1877 at the Turkish capital, warned his government of the development of a movement among Moslems to unite and urged the necessity for co-operating with them.²⁸ In fact he and Lord Lytton, viceroy of India, were largely responsible for a Turkish mission to Afghanistan in 1877 whose purpose was to make an appeal for Moslem solidarity against Russia and for friendly relations with England.²⁹ That Pan-Islamism later appeared to be a great menace to the British Empire was the result of the change between 1878 and 1895 from British friendship for the sultan-caliph to hostility.

Moreover, Great Britain has not been alone in attempting to exploit Pan-Islamism when circumstances seemed to favor it. Germany during the World War tried to use it in order to weaken Great Britain and France. Italy in the 1930's, if we are to believe current reports, played the same game, and the Arabs in their conflicts with both France and Great Britain have sought support through arousing the sympathies of fellow Moslems. It would appear, indeed, that Pan-Islamism has always had either behind it or paralleling it the imperialistic policy of some European power whose aims and interests at the moment seemed to coincide with those of Islam or of some Moslem potentate. Thus one may come to the tentative conclusion that without British support in the beginning and that of others later, Pan-Islamism would never have developed into a significant movement.

In summary, it has been the purpose of this article to show that the usual interpretations of Pan-Islamism and especially the story of its origins, both as to chronology and causes, have been inadequate and unsatisfactory and that insofar as Pan-Islamism and the revival of the caliphate are linked with the whole problem of the reaction of the Islamic world to the impact of the Occident, a satisfactory and fundamentally sound historical treatment can be made only if Islamic sources can be studied. Furthermore, in such a study of Pan-Islamism not only must the intellectual and political developments in all the various Moslem countries be clearly understood, but also the international re-

²⁸ See quotations in Frechtling, *Jour. Roy. Central Asian Soc.*, XXVI, 479, n.; and Dwight E. Lee, *Great Britain and the Cyprus Convention Policy* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 184.

²⁹ Toynbee, p. 40, n. 1; Edmund Ollier, *Cassell's Illustrated History of the Russo-Turkish War*, II (London, 1879), 430-31; my article, "A Turkish Mission to Afghanistan, 1877", *Journal of Modern History*, XIII (Sept., 1941), 335-56.

lations of the great powers toward one another and toward the Islamic countries must be taken into account. Only after such a study can one definitely decide whether an effort to translate the "tendency" toward Islamic unity into an actual movement was a phantasm or a reality and whether Pan-Islamism was a genuine Moslem reaction to Western encroachment or merely a weapon of imperialism, conceived by Western brains and forged by Western hands.

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DOCUMENTS

AN UNPUBLISHED MACHIAVELLI LETTER¹

WHEN the first storm of moral indignation against Machiavelli's theories arose and biographical comments distorting his life began to be written,² a nephew of Machiavelli, Giuliano de' Ricci, tried to collect his uncle's correspondence and papers in order to be able to refute his critics. The result of his efforts was the famous "Apografo di Giuliano de' Ricci".³ Since then this codex, which has come down to us in various copies, has remained the main source for Machiavelli's life and character. In particular, the codex constitutes the basis of editions of Machiavelli's private correspondence, his "lettere familiari".

The authoritative edition of Machiavelli's letters is the one by Edoardo Alvisi, which was published in 1883.⁴ The bulk of its material comes from the "Apografo di Giuliano de' Ricci",⁵ but Alvisi, as far as possible, added to the collection letters which Ricci had overlooked. Moreover, he tried to go back to the originals even in the case of letters contained in Ricci's codex, since the text given by Ricci is frequently incomplete or corrupt. In the following decades the work was continued on the foundation laid by Alvisi, especially by Villari and Tommasini, to whom we owe the two authoritative biographies of Machiavelli; I believe one can say that after their investigations the field was considered as being exhausted. The progress achieved beyond Alvisi, in

¹ The late Professor Preserved Smith directed my attention to the fact that there was an unpublished Machiavelli letter in Philadelphia; his remark formed the starting point for the researches described in this note.

² Cf. L. A. Burd's chapter, "Early Criticism of the Prince", in his edition of *Machiavelli's Principe* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 31-69, which remains of fundamental importance although his researches have been supplemented by later discussions. Cf. Giuseppe Toffanin, *Machiavelli e il "Tacitismo"* (Padua, 1921), chap. IV, and Andrea Sorrentino, *Storia dell' antimachiavellismo europeo* (Naples, 1936), pp. 10-26.

³ Cf. Oreste Tommasini, *La vita e gli scritti di Niccolò Machiavelli* (Turin and Rome, 1883-1911), I, 62, and the exact analysis of the "Apografo di Giuliano de' Ricci", *ibid.*, pp. 617-64.

⁴ N. Machiavelli, *Lettere familiari*, ed. by Edoardo Alvisi (Florence, 1883). The latest edition is the one by G. Lesca (Florence, 1929). The latest critical edition of Machiavelli's works (*Tutte le opere storiche e letterarie*, ed. by Guido Mazzoni and Mario Casella, Florence, 1929) gives only a selection from the letters.

⁵ Of the seventy-three letters written by Machiavelli, fifty derive from the "Apografo di Giuliano de' Ricci".

the course of these studies, was mainly in correcting Ricci's text on the basis of the originals;⁶ attempts to add to the corpus of Machiavelli letters were not very successful, since only one letter which was unknown to Alvisi has been discovered.⁷

The search for Machiavelli letters had been restricted to European archives. Quite apart from the obvious improbability of finding them in other places, it must have seemed a rather hopeless task to set out to discover what might be preserved in the collections of the United States. But this situation is changed owing to the publication of the *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*.⁸ According to this publication, there are seven letters by Machiavelli in the United States. These letters, arranged in chronological order, are described in the *Census* as follows:

No. 1

Census, II, 1594 Misc Macchiavelli (Niccolò), Autogr. letter signed (Florence, 14 May 1502), to Antonio de' Giraldi
New York
Pierpont Morgan Library

No. 2

Census, II, 2097 Macchiavelli (Niccolò), Letter signed (1504)
Philadelphia, Pa.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania
Simon Gratz Collection

No. 3

Census, II, 1594 Misc Macchiavelli (Niccolò), Autogr. letter signed (Florence, 8 Sept. 1505), to Antonio Duccio Conci (?), 3 pp.
New York
Pierpont Morgan Library

No. 4

Census, I, 262 1368. Niccolò Macchiavelli, Autogr. letter signed (Florence, 29 Apr. 1511), in Italian, to Francesco Vet-

⁶ Cf. the remarks in Machiavelli's *Opere*, ed. by Mazzoni and Casella, p. 874, and especially Tommasini's Appendix, No. xxxvi, "Elenco dei documenti relativi al Machiavelli contenuti nelle sei buste della Biblioteca nazionale di Firenze", II, 1257-1387.

⁷ Letter to Bartolommeo Cavalcanti, summer, 1526; on this letter cf. Tommasini, II, 863; it is published in *ibid.*, pp. 1251-55.

⁸ Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935-40).

tori, on the relations of Spain and Naples with the Pope. 7 pp.

Washington, D. C.

Library of Congress

The John Boyd Thacher Collection of Autographs

No. 5

Census, II, 1218 41. Macchiavelli (Niccolò), Autogr. letter signed (1514), in Italian
Buffalo, N. Y.

The Library of Robert Borthwick Adam

No. 6

Census, II, 2091 Macchiavelli (Niccolò), Autogr. letter signed (Florence, 15 Feb. 1520), to Giovanni di Franco Vernacri, on business
Philadelphia, Pa.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Ferdinand Julius Dreer Collection

No. 7

Census, I, 688 127. Niccolò Macchiavelli, Autogr. letter signed (25 Dec. 1521), to Francesco Vettori
Kenilworth, Ill.

The Collection of Roger W. Barrett

What kind of letters are these? Are their contents already known, and have they ever been published in the editions of Machiavelli's works?

It is not possible to answer these questions on the basis of the brief statements given in the *Census*; they can be answered only after an examination of the contents of each letter. The following will give an account of such an investigation.⁹ Its results imply some modifications of the statements in the *Census*. Three letters out of the seven will have to be set aside since they are not "lettere familiari" in the proper sense: Nos. 1 and 3 were written by Machiavelli in his capacity as secretary and are of a purely official character; No. 7 is simply a short note of introduction.¹⁰ That means that four letters remain which are indeed

⁹ I wish to express my gratitude to all those who have assisted me and who were good enough to allow me to make use of material in their collections, especially Mr. R. B. Adam in Buffalo, Mr. O. R. Barrett in Chicago, Mr. J. P. Boyd, formerly of the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and Mr. R. F. Metzdorf of the Library of the University of Rochester.

¹⁰ This is the one letter which I have not seen in the original. Mr. Oliver R. Barrett

"lettere familiari". Three of them, Nos. 2, 4, and 5, are known and have been published,¹¹ but their published texts have been taken from copies, none of them having been known in the original. In future editions their text should be given as in the originals, preserved in the American collections. This is particularly important with regard to No. 4, the letter to Vettori of April 29, 1513. It is a famous letter, discussing at great length the political situation in Italy, and was known only in incomplete copies, differing considerably from each other;¹² only now has it become possible definitely to establish its exact wording.

There remains one letter, No. 6, which was unknown and represents, therefore, a real discovery. It is addressed to Machiavelli's nephew, Giovanni Vernacci, in Constantinople, and its contents are of a purely private nature: Machiavelli explains to his nephew why he was unable to carry out some financial transactions with which his nephew had commissioned him, the power of attorney having been defective. He gives an account of his nephew's share in the estate of a recently deceased relation and reports on the administration of his nephew's farm ("podere"). He ends up by acknowledging the receipt of a shipment of caviar. The interest in this letter is somewhat increased by the fact that Vernacci's answer to it is preserved and has been printed.¹³ Machiavelli's letters to Vernacci form a whole series which is included in every edition of Machiavelli's works; this letter should find its place, therefore, in any future publication of Machiavelli's correspondence.

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was kind enough to describe it to me; he gave me an English translation of its text: "Signore Gonfaloniere: Parigino the bearer of this is my great friend. He says that when your Lordship was detained at home some lawsuit was begun against him in order to deprive him of a certain field. He would wish to get rid of it if possible and had recourse to me in order I should recommend him to you the which I do with all my heart. You will hear from him the merit of his case and as I take it to be reasonable I beg you will settle it. Begging you will remember me, you to whom I have so many obligations, and God give me power to repay them. Be in health and comfort. Farewell, 25th day of Dec. 1521 Niccolò Machiavelli in town."

¹¹ No. 2 is the letter to Giovanni Ridolfi in Castrocaro, June 1, 1504; No. 4 is the letter to Vettori, April 29, 1513 (the statement of the *Census* that the letter was written in 1511 is an error); No. 5 is the letter to Francesco Vettori of December 20, 1514.

¹² Cf. Tommasini, II, 86, n. 1, and Lesca's edition of Machiavelli's *Lettere*, p. 253. The text given by Lesca is in the main correct, although the original shows certain slight deviations.

¹³ First published by Pasquale Villari, *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi* (Florence, 1877-82), III, 395-96, and now in Lesca's edition of Machiavelli's *Lettere*, pp. 236-37.

NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI TO GIOVANNI VERNACCI IN PERA

Carissimo Giovanni,

io sono un poco pigro a rispondere a le tue lettere, perchè tu mi scrivi ogni volta: io partirò fra uno mese. Hora veggendo che tu non torni, io ti scriverò quello che accade. Io hebbi le tue lettere con la procura. Et volendo permutare il monte, acciò che tu ne havessi le paghe intere, io non potetti, perchè la procura, che tu mi mandasti, ad questo facto del monte non serviva. Pertanto io ti mando una forma di procura come la debbe stare; fa di farla. Et io allora farò la permuta del monte secondo che tu mi scrivi.

Delle cose di mona Vaggia, qualche io so che ti tochi, è questo: 266 fiorini di 7 per cento larghi 63 fiorini et $\frac{1}{3}$. Che sono depositati in Badia ad tua stanza. E quali io vi ho lasciati stare, sperando che tu torni; quando tu non torni, io gli leverò et ne comperò 7 per cento; restasi havere certi danari da i Tempi, et ad questi giorni se ne riscosse 36 ducati, che se ne paghò 32 ad certe fanti che per lascio di mona Vaggia gli havevono ad havere. Questi altri che si riscoteranno, si farà equale della parte tua. Son vi anchora parecchie masserizie, et la parte tua è in mano degli executori del testamento. Io m'ingegno tenere contento P[ier]o Venturi, che pigli l'entrata del podere, anchora che brami che vogla essere pagato; et la entrata di questo anno io gli ho consegnata tucta da le vincigle infuora.

Le 75 libbre del caviale vennono, pagai per quello lire 9 soldi 7; distribuissi come scrivesti.

Noi siamo tucti sani et ti aspettiamo; torna per tua fè et il più presto che tu puoi. Christo ti guardi. A dì 15 di febbraio 1520

Niccolò Machiavegli in Firenze.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Volume LI, Edited by a Committee of the Classical Instructors of Harvard University. *Athenian Studies presented to William Scott Ferguson*. [Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Supplementary Volume I.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. 335; 535. \$2.50; \$4.00.)

THE studies which make up these two volumes give at first the impression of wide diversity. In length they vary between a few pages and more than seventy; their subjects range in time from the Minoan Age to the eleventh century A.D. and are taken from three continents; the sources include literary texts, inscriptions, papyri, and various archaeological materials, and historical method is adequately represented in its more important departments. The element of unity, which gives to the collection coherence and meaning, may be found in the personality, the ideas and the ideals, of William Scott Ferguson, in whose honor it is published. One of the volumes is made up of studies by Ferguson's former students, men who prepared for the doctorate under his guidance; the other contains essays by twenty-one American and European scholars in the field of his chief interest, the history and institutions of ancient Athens. Beneath this formal unity is a deeper, more fundamental harmony, an inner design not unconnected with Ferguson's conception of scholarship and with the long succession of notable studies in which that conception is embodied. This inner unity appears in divers ways, in the accuracy with which difficult material has been edited and minor errors reduced to a minimum, in the number of investigations which take their start from ideas set forth in one or another of Ferguson's own writings, and in a prevailing tone of sane common sense, distrustful of specious paradox and keenly critical.

The collection gives a good idea of what is being done by historians of ancient Greece and should dispel at once any illusion that studies in this field are static. History, and also philology in the broader sense in which it is the study of life and thought recorded in words, are always in their nature dynamic, for they are interpretations, and interpretations must be made anew by each generation. At the present time in this particular field continual accretions of new material are stimulating investigation by the prospect of substantial results. In the volumes under review the number of texts edited for the first time from stone or papyrus is relatively not large, but the studies which incorporate recent discoveries and present improvements or new restorations in texts already known form an impressive aggregate. They

make a considerable addition to our knowledge of such matters as Attic chronology, executive functions and personnel, the funds and properties administered by the various Athenian treasurers, and the relation of the state to cults and festivals. Equally valuable are some of the essays which do not present new material but extend or correct our information by re-interpretation or by inviting attention to facts or implications previously unobserved. Particularly acceptable to the present reviewer are those which apply sober common sense to the vagaries of oversubtle *Forschung*. Since criticism of details cannot be undertaken in a brief notice, a word of general comment may be offered on two of the longer studies. Bloch's examination of various attempts to find out the author of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* shows acumen nicely tempered with sobriety and substitutes for the customary guess the unexpectedly frank conclusion that we do not know the author and should stop trying to fit the known historians of the fourth century to a bed of Procrustes. As a guaranty that this conclusion does not proceed from a sterile negativism, the study ends with a useful contribution to our knowledge of Theophrastus's *Treatise on Law* and its relation to the *Constitutions* and *Politics* of Aristotle. Finley's essay on "The Unity of Thucydides' History" is judicious and admirably expressed. It seems incredible that forty pages of argument should be needed to maintain that the history of Thucydides is a connected whole with certain significant ideas running through it, but if they are needed to dispel the aura of pseudo criticism with which this text has lately been surrounded, it is well that they are here published. Perhaps it is an aftermath of comparable tendencies in Homeric criticism when Mylonas, who is scrupulous in his handling of archaeological data, has little hesitation in rejecting (pp. 30 f.) as "late" additions a number of inconvenient passages in Homer which are adequately attested in the tradition. Every tradition is properly subject to objective criticism, but it is time to recognize that the burden of proof rests on those who would reject it on conjectural grounds.

These volumes are a worthy expression of the high regard and admiration in which Ferguson is held by Hellenists and by historians everywhere.

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GEORGE M. CALHOUN.

A History of Afghanistan. By Brig.-Gen. Sir PERCY SYKES. Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan and Company. 1940. Pp. xiii, 411; ix, 414. \$10.00 per set.)

GEOPOLITICALLY Afghanistan's importance lies in the fact that it serves as a buffer state between British-dominated India on the south and Soviet Russia on the north and also Iran (Persia) on the west and India on the east. The total area of Afghanistan is slightly larger than France, and it has a population of ten millions. The position of Afghanistan is of vital interest to the defense of India, and it may play a significant role in the final out-

come of the struggle for the control of the Middle East. A friendly Afghanistan, as an ally of Britain, is a tremendous asset to the defense of India.

In these two volumes under review Brig. Gen. Sir Percy Sykes, who has acquired intimate and profound knowledge of the peoples and countries of Central Asia, the Middle East, and the Near East through his active service to the British Empire for over half a century and constant study of problems affecting British imperial interests in Central Asia, presents us with an authentic and authoritative history of Afghanistan.

In the first volume the distinguished author has packed a vast amount of information regarding various empires which flourished during nearly four thousand years from the days of early Egyptian, Persian, Greek, Parthian, Hindu, Arab, Mogul, and other empires till the early part of the nineteenth century, when Great Britain and Russia were approaching Afghanistan. The author makes it very clear that historically speaking there was no national state of Afghanistan until recent years. In ancient times Afghanistan formed a part of various empires and kingdoms. In 1013, when Mahumud of Ghazni conquered the region now known as Afghanistan, a Hindu dynasty ruled over that part of the world, including Kabul. Until the foundation of the kingdom of Ahmed Shah Durani during the middle of the eighteenth century, even the name Afghanistan was not used for the particular region now known by that name.

The second volume covers the history of the last hundred years, including three Anglo-Afghan wars and various phases of Anglo-Russian rivalry as well as Anglo-Russian understanding at the expense of Afghanistan, Afghanistan's part during the First World War (1914-18), an intimate account of the German-Turkish mission to Afghanistan to induce the latter to attack India and support the Indian revolutionary movement, and Afghanistan's new nationalism and the acquisition of complete independence after the Third Afghan War (1919) against Britain, provoked by King Amanullah. It also gives an account of King Amanullah's enthusiastic efforts to effect changes similar to those brought about by Mustapha Kemal Pasha in Turkey and Riza Shah in Iran and their failure due to the hostility of orthodox Moslem religious leaders and their ignorant and fanatical followers. It gives a detailed account of the Afghan revolt and the overthrow of anti-British and pro-Soviet Russian King Amanullah and the establishment of the pro-British regime of Nadir Khan. In general this work provides an interesting picture of developments in British policy toward Afghanistan.

As things stand today, Afghanistan cannot be brought under British control; but Anglo-Afghan co-operation is of vital necessity for Britain to check any possible attack on India by Soviet Russia. Thus the present policy of the British government toward Afghanistan is to recognize that "a friendly

strong independent Afghanistan is a sure foundation on which to rest the common interests of two countries”.

These volumes contain several maps, an excellent bibliography, and an index. At the end of the second volume the author has printed as appendixes eight valuable documents regarding Anglo-Afghan and Anglo-Russian relations. These volumes will serve as reference books for students of history interested in the particular region.

City College, New York.

TARAKNATH DAS.

The Mongol Empire: Its Rise and Legacy. By MICHAEL PRAWDIN. Translated by EDEN and CEDAR PAUL. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. 581. \$5.00.)

THE volume under review is a translation of the German text of *Tschingis-Chan und sein Erbe*, published in 1938. The author is a Russian, Michael Charol, who uses the pseudonym of Prawdin. Using available material from both Oriental and European sources, Prawdin gives a survey of Mongol history rather in the form of a historical novel than in that of a scientific dissertation. For the nonspecialized reader this book is an intelligible introduction into a period of Asiatic history of eminent importance not only for Central Asia or the Far East but also for Europe. Prawdin shows great skill in describing the interrelations which make these periods important for the history of the Mamelukes and the Ottomans, of Russia and China.

As Prawdin considers the concept of the Mongol Empire in its historical continuity, he does not merely describe the history of the Il-Khans, the Yüans, or the Golden Horde but also that of Timur-Lenk's (Tamerlane's) empire. It is, of course, evident from his description that the three above-mentioned realms were conquered and founded by armies consisting preponderantly of Mongols and that the Mongol garrisons, administrative officers, and rulers who were left behind in those countries after some generations assumed the civilization and language of their environment.

Timur-Lenk's vast empire, indeed, is not to be considered as a Mongolian one because of its preponderant Turkic (or Turkicized) and Iranian population. Timur himself, like the ruling class of his empire, belonged to the Islamic culture of Persia (and Khorasan).

Mr. Prawdin does not sufficiently point out the fact that the armies of the Mongol Empire did not consist solely of Mongols but that even another nomadic element of High Asiatic origin, the Turks, were of great significance as cofounders of several subdivisions of the Mongol Empire (e.g., the Golden Horde; cf. pp. 390 ff.).

Inconsistencies in the spelling of proper names may be ascribed to the translation. Other errors, some of which I should like to point out, are the author's responsibility:

- P. 23: gach, "pig", is erroneous for Mongol ġaqai, "pig".
- P. 56: whether the Naimans were a Turkic tribe or not is unknown; their name is Mongol and means "eight".
- P. 82: "arjka", "sort of brandy distilled from fermented milk", stands for araqi, "the same".
- P. 102: it was not 200 years before the death of Chingis-Khan that the Liao Dynasty, ruling over Manchuria and North China, was replaced by the Kin Dynasty, but only 100 years before.
- P. 155: Ala-ed-Din does not mean "the Shadow of Allah" but "The Sublime of Religion".
- P. 212: the two Caucasian tribes mentioned here are the Lezgins and the Alans (not Lesginen and Alauns).
- P. 235: Yeliü Ch'uts'ai was not of Mongol stock but of Liao origin, as his family name Ye-Liü proves, being one of those of the ruling families of the Liao Dynasty.
- P. 257: Wahlstatt is not "the Place of Choice" (!) but (in Old High German) "the place of battle".
- P. 406: The Chaghatays were not a result of mixture from Turkmen and Mongols, but they were Central Asiatic Turks (close relatives of the ancient Uyghurs) who most probably had absorbed some Mongol and Turkmen elements. The Chaghatay language is not Mongolian; it is Turkic possessing numerous Arabic and Iranian (Persian) loanwords but almost no Mongol ones.
- P. 559: The Persian title of the "History of the World Conqueror" is incorrectly given, instead of Ta'rîx-i Džihân-gūšâi.

All descriptions of individual characters are excellent and acceptable to Orientalists who are working steadily in this field. The social structure of the Mongol Empire, however, its development and its changes, are neglected. Fortunately for scholars who read Russian this phase of the subject has been adequately treated by B. Y. Vladimircov, with whose work Prawdin is clearly familiar.

Columbia University.

KARL H. MENGES.

Argument from Roman Law in Political Thought, 1200-1600. By MYRON PIPER GILMORE. [Harvard Historical Monographs.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. 148. \$2.00.)

THIS valuable little volume has a twofold interest. It illustrates, in the first place, a quality of political theorizing in the period which it covers and indeed to some extent in all periods. From the recovery of the Roman Law until the end of the sixteenth century the *Corpus juris civilis*, in Justinian's compilation, had an admitted authority, as Aristotle had in philosophy and as Scripture had in theology. The concepts of the law, such, for example, as *imperium*, were not understood in their historical sense, nor

would that sense have been much valued for its historical accuracy had scholars possessed it. In the four centuries covered by this study the actual nature of political institutions changed greatly, and the theories created to account for these institutions changed correspondingly. Yet all these theories were regarded by the lawyers as inevitable deductions from a single body of legal texts. "The history of the *merum imperium* is a remarkable example of the persistence of the formal concept in the history of thought. But although the term remained unchanged, the realities to which it applied did change and therein lies the interest in following the course of its successive applications" (p. 12). Thus the book presents in a special case the evolution of political concepts under the stress of fact, while the change of meaning is concealed under an appearance of continuity. This tendency of political philosophy to "cushion" changes which the moral consciousness is not yet prepared to accept is probably a universal attribute of the subject.

In the second place, the book presents changes in constructing the concept of *merum imperium* from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Successive chapters deal with "The Glossators and Postglossators", "The Humanists", who introduced the rudiments of a historical sense into the study of the Roman Law, and "The Theory of Office in Bodin and Loyseau" in the sixteenth century. This study is an important introduction to the theory of sovereignty as it appeared in the last two authors, showing how completely Bodin's theory had been prepared in the writings of the legalists who preceded him. Hence the book is an elaboration and a criticism of the proposition, found in all writers who have dealt with the political theory of the Middle Ages, that the Roman Law was an important factor in creating both the theory and the practice of royal absolutism. Without denying that this was in fact a consequence of the study of Roman Law, Mr. Gilmore has both clarified and qualified the effects of this study upon modern political theory. "The most general and the most important influence of Roman Law", he concludes, lay in enforcing the distinction between public power and private property. Though such texts as that in which the prince is declared to be *legibus solutus* were often used to justify absolutism, other texts were used in restraint of absolute power. "One of the most interesting examples of the latter with which this essay has been chiefly concerned is the theory of the constituted structure of public offices by which its supporters hoped to make a secure tenure of the magistracy compatible with the existence of a sovereign power" (p. 131). The author concludes also that controversies among the lawyers about *imperium* and jurisdiction probably had the effect of delaying the identification of sovereignty with legislative power.

The book gives a well-documented account of an obscure and important phase of the developing theory of the national state.

Cornell University.

GEORGE H. SABINE.

The Spanish Guild Merchant: A History of the Consulado, 1250-1700. By ROBERT SIDNEY SMITH, Assistant Professor of Economics, Duke University, Sometime Amherst Memorial Fellow. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 167. \$2.50.)

PROFESSOR Smith has given us a fully documented history of the guild merchant in Spain. There has been a conscious effort on his part to do for Spain what Gross did for the guild merchant in England; this appears not only in the general scope and structure of the text but in the meticulous and extensive documentation. Both printed and manuscript materials have been utilized with unusual care. The archives of all the Consulados have been visited and extant documents listed and used. Unfortunately, many of the documents have long since been dispersed or destroyed. The task to which Professor Smith addressed himself was thus difficult in many ways. Critical literature was scanty; the manuscript material was widely dispersed among a considerable number of archives, libraries, and museums.

There have been few modern critical studies of the guild merchant. Historians writing on trade with the New World have dealt in some measure with the Consulados at Seville and Cadiz. T. Guiard y Larrauri has given us a careful monograph on the Consulado of Bilbao. No significant special attention has hitherto been given to the guild merchant in Aragon, where it first developed. This history of the Consulado is thus unique. There is no other comprehensive account of this striking feature of Spanish economic and judicial organization. This long neglect should not be taken as evidence that the subject is in any sense unimportant. It is merely the result of the special circumstances affecting the history and literature of Valencia and Catalonia. The indifference or hostility of Castilians to the culture of eastern Spain has left native scholars an array of historical tasks beyond the limits of immediate accomplishment.

In its mature form the Spanish Consulado combined the functions of a special maritime court with the functions of a guild merchant. In different towns the chronology of development varies, likewise the precise extent of the more general mercantile functions. The Consulado was closely associated with the municipal administration but was nowhere really identified with it. The judicial functions emerged earlier than the more general administrative functions. Privileges of this type were granted to Valencia in 1283 and to other eastern towns in the course of the fourteenth century: Majorca (1343), Barcelona (1347), Tortosa (1363), Gerona (1385), and Perpignan (1388). The Consulado soon developed special activities in the protection of shipping from pirates. Navigation acts and customs duties also engaged the attention of the officers of the guild. They were frequently charged with the administration of navigation acts and assisted in the collection of customs duties. With the extension of the Consulado to Bilbao, Burgos, Seville, and Cadiz few significant changes were made in the struc-

ture of the organization. Special jurisdictions were set up for the administration of a code of mercantile law, progressively less exclusively concerned with marine law. The administrative functions were sharply emphasized by the monopoly privileges which dominated both the wool trade to Flanders and the trade to the New World.

Professor Smith has grave doubts of the utility of preserving the medieval structure with so little change. Granted that the special privileges of the merchants were socially useful in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is not easy to feel much confidence in such rigidity and such emphasis on occupational autonomy when continued into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. "Fear of competition, love of privilege, and devotion to tradition were the hallmarks of guild philosophy until the abolition of privileged mercantile establishments in the nineteenth century."

Harvard University.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

The Journal of Captain James Colnett aboard the Argonaut, from April 26, 1789, to Nov. 3, 1791. Edited with Introduction and Notes by His Honour Judge F. W. HOWAY. [The Publications of the Champlain Society.] (Toronto: the Society. 1940. Pp. xxxi, 328.)

THE reviewer regrets that this diary of Captain Colnett's historic expedition was not published some thirty-seven years sooner, so it would have been available when his *Nootka Sound Controversy* was being written. It might with profit have been frequently cited therein because of the light which it casts on the events there discussed. However, not many important statements would have been extensively or materially different because of information contained in the Journal.

The editor's work on the manuscript has been extensive and careful and decidedly scholarly. He deserves the hearty thanks and enthusiastic commendation of all students who will have occasion to consult the Journal, which—as Colnett had spent practically his entire life at sea—is itself far from scholarly. Judge Howay's excellent critical comments enable his readers to sift the truth from Colnett's undependable, if not sometimes consciously mendacious, assertions.

The nearly three hundred pages of the Journal extend over the entire two and a half years between the departure of Colnett's expedition from, and its return to, China. The portion most interesting to the reviewer, however (and probably it will also be to most other readers), is contained in the fourth chapter, which extends from Colnett's arrival at Nootka on July 3, 1789, to his departure from San Blas on July 9, 1790, after his release from about a year's detention virtually as a prisoner of war, described on pages 53 to 169, especially pages 53 to 132. The account of the quarrel between Colnett and the Spanish commandant during the first few days after the former's arrival at Nootka, discussed in the first ten pages cited, which led

to his seizure and imprisonment, constitutes the most important part of the especially interesting portion contained in the citation given above.

Besides this portion of especial interest to students of the Nootka Sound episode, the Journal contains much valuable information of a geographical nature regarding the route followed during Colnett's voyage from China to the Northwest Coast and his return to eastern Asia. The five appendixes contain pertinent documents of considerable historical value, which are, of course, not a part of the Journal. The volume has an adequate index.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM R. MANNING.

The Majority of the People. By EDWIN MIMS, JR. (New York: Modern Age Books, 1941. Pp. 314. \$2.75.)

Introduction to Politics. Edited by ROY V. PEEL and JOSEPH S. ROUCEK. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1941. Pp. xvi, 587. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Mims believes that, according to the American gospel as propounded in the apostolic age, the minority should possess no rights. "The further we proceed back toward the headwaters of our political tradition", he contends, "the further we proceed in the direction of a simple, self-contained, carefully constituted philosophy of majority rule." This thesis is supported with the zeal of personal conviction. Refusing to be bamboozled by the plausible misrepresentations of a disciplined and close-knit pressure group, the majority (however slight) should serve its own selfish interests. It is, however, the majority of 1940 that Professor Mims has in mind. Perhaps his conviction might waver if normalcy, like that of the Harding era, displaced the New Deal.

From one standpoint at least this book deserves the highest commendation. Professor Mims writes with a command of good English form that is rarely encountered nowadays in political treatises. His style is, indeed, more persuasive than his argument. The latter depends too much upon theory and not enough upon practice. In any survey of the American attitude toward majority rule the proceedings at Philadelphia and the Constitution itself should find a place. Both are ignored, apparently because the disciples of John Adams had things their own way in 1787 and because their Constitution was "in so many respects" an antipopular document. Certainly, had the Fathers been summoned as witnesses, they would have given little comfort to the proponents of unqualified majority rule.

While the Fathers are kept off the witness stand, political philosophers, from Machiavelli to Rousseau, give somewhat prolix evidence. Hobbes and Rousseau occupy two fifths of one chapter, for example; Locke, half of another. The bearing of their evidence upon American tradition is often obscure. It may be that Professor Mims, having an intimate acquaintance with these men and a deep affection for them, simply feels the need of their companionship. Rousseau, one must add, resembles a god more than a

companion. The Websters, Taney, and Cooleys perish everlastingly for stepping "completely outside of Rousseau's system of logic" and being guilty of "flat defiance". *The Social Contract*, not the Constitution, expresses the fundamentals of our political faith.

The *Introduction to Politics* is a "venture in co-operative scholarship". The editors, believing that the subject, in its growing complexity, can no longer be treated adequately by one man or even by a few men, have enlisted the services of more than twenty "distinguished" collaborators. In most cases the title to distinction and to "expert knowledge" seems a little dubious. One looks in vain for the insight and mature judgments of an authority like Sidgwick or for more than a superficial sketchiness in the handling of basic problems. Serious inaccuracies have escaped the attention of the editors. Some statements are utterly erroneous; others, so vague or incomplete that they must be the result of ignorance. Thus, contrary to the view of "some writers", we are told, the individual, not the state, is the chief subject of international law; and among the sources of that law are the works of publicists and the decisions of national courts—in the latter instance, however, only when they establish true rules! Again, in a discussion of citizenship the statute of 1934 affecting persons born abroad of American parents is overlooked, and likewise the statute of 1924 affecting Indians. The bibliographies, especially in the matter of dates, are not always dependable. An attached glossary indicates how elementary the book is. This glossary defines such recondite English terms as "body politic" and "chauvinistic" and translates such foreign terms as *ex cathedra*, *caveat emptor*, and *vaterland*.

Pomona College.

EDWARD MCCHESENEY SAIT.

The Armed Horde, 1793-1939: A Study of the Rise, Survival, and Decline of the Mass Army. By HOFFMAN NICKERSON. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1940. Pp. x, 427. \$3.50.)

It is possible that the history of the first half of the twentieth century will ultimately be interpreted in terms of the relation between democracy and war. Certainly, there is no subject more worth attention today than the nature of that relationship; and a book which attempts to analyze it deserves consideration even if its conclusions conflict with the hopes and convictions of "those who use democracy as a slogan or substitute for religion". As Mr. Nickerson insists, "the matter is too important to be shirked", although, unfortunately, that is exactly what he himself tends to do. His thesis that democratic ideas bear the responsibility for the rise of the mass army during the past century and a half is at best debatable; but instead of debating he affirms and reaffirms it throughout the survey of military developments which comprises the major part of his book.

The contents of *The Armed Horde* lend very inconclusive support to its thesis. In one chapter on "pre-democratic", and six on "democratic",

war, its author emphasizes the fact that armies have been larger since the French Revolution than before and insists that, on the whole, men fought in a more civilized manner before they had been corrupted by the gospel of Rousseau. But Mr. Nickerson's tendency to take the word for the deed seriously vitiates his efforts. For example, he accepts the theoretical limitations on war to be found in the feudal customs and ecclesiastical exhortations of the Middle Ages as well as the Convention's famous law of August 23, 1793, which constituted the *levée en masse*, as simple historical descriptions. He also proves to be far less suspicious of numbers in history than in politics, even to the extent of giving 1,700,000 for the strength of Xerxes's hosts on the authority of Herodotus.

Far more damaging to the author's case, however, than such unconventional use of his material is his attempt to explain the increase in the size of armed forces by the ideological developments of the nineteenth century without so much as mentioning the industrial revolution or the coincidental rise in population and immense growth of political units. He fails, moreover, to resolve the paradox that the allegedly democratic concept of the nation in arms has found its greatest exponent in the incorrigibly antidemocratic Prussia and neglects to state that, both before and after the French Revolution, Russia had the largest army in Europe.

Unlike some advocates of smaller armies, Mr. Nickerson does not base his plea on the contention that military advantage now lies with the little battalions but rather that our present wars are far too costly and socially disturbing. Apparently he is moved by a romantic nostalgia for a day when kings ordered professional soldiers to kill one another in cool blood for no important reason and honest folk could attend to business as usual. It might be added that not a little of this work repeats, occasionally verbatim, what the author has already said in his earlier volume, *Can we limit War?*

Harvard University.

EDWARD WHITING FOX.

A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Edited by G. H. SCHOLEFIELD. Two volumes. (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs. 1940. Pp. xxxii, 512; vi, 571. £2 10s.)

PUBLISHED in the centennial year of the establishment of British sovereignty over New Zealand, the work under review ranks high among the efforts to celebrate this historic event. New Zealand is the youngest of the British nations, and in a surprisingly short period she has not only settled and conquered the wilderness but has won an enviable position among the civilized progressive countries of the world. This *Dictionary* constitutes a worthy monument to those who founded and have been the leaders of New Zealand during the past hundred years.

Dr. G. H. Scholefield and his collaborators have produced an unusually thorough and comprehensive work—one which is indispensable for stu-

dents of the history of New Zealand. The editor began gathering material for the *Dictionary* more than thirty years ago. Many of the "first things" were then new, and sons and daughters of the pioneers were still living. Moreover, both the colonizing companies and the government had kept fairly complete records of events pertaining to the exploration, settlement, and early events in New Zealand. In a great many cases the biographical sketches are based upon firsthand information, and taken as a whole they constitute a comprehensive history of the dominion.

The editor has cast his net wide. He presents biographies of explorers, missionaries, Maori chiefs, British officials, statesmen, politicians, and leaders in business, industry, and the professions. Men like E. G. Wakefield and Sir George Grey are of course allotted much space; and even men like Dandeson Coates, lay secretary of the Church Missionary Society, who never visited New Zealand but whose work was intimately associated with the early history of the island, are given a niche among New Zealand worthies. The inclusion of several Maoris constitutes a pleasing testimony to the character of the relations which have existed between them and the European intruders within the last seventy years.

In his anxiety to bring in everyone of importance who has been connected with New Zealand, the editor has chosen some whose connections and services seem extremely slight. A case in point is that of the Danish ecclesiastic and statesman, D. G. Monrad, who during a brief and uneasy sojourn in the islands left no trace beyond the gift of some etchings. Membership in one of the old provincial councils does not seem to constitute a very impressive reason for listing one among the leaders of the nation, and trivialities such as that a man watched a shipwreck or that he was a good chess player might well have been omitted. Writers of some of the biographical sketches have occasionally succumbed to the temptation of claiming too many honors for their men. Instances of this sort are the claims that Sir John Gorst was largely responsible for the Conservative victory in the British election of 1874 and that the arguments of Julius Vogel caused the passage of the Australian Preferential Tariff Act, 1873. The eldest son of J. R. Godley was permanent undersecretary, not secretary, of state for India as stated (I, 305); and dates in the biography of Philip Tapsell (II, 364) need to be corrected.

New Zealand has not only been successful in working out solutions for her own problems and provided patterns in economic and social legislation which other countries have found valuable, but she has produced sons and daughters who have won world-wide recognition in various fields. Katherine Mansfield, Sir Hugh Walpole, Harold Williams, and Lord Rutherford are among the New Zealanders whose well-deserved fame has reached the four corners of the earth. The *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is a fitting memorial to the builders of a brave and virile nation.

University of Wisconsin.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

The World of Nations: A Study of the National Implications in the Work of Karl Marx. By SOLOMON F. BLOOM. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 225. \$2.50.)

IN this "essay", which originated as a doctoral dissertation, the author has sought with considerable success to determine the concept and function of the nation in the Marxian system of thought. He has diligently combed the writings of Marx; the documentation is thorough; the pattern is generally clear. Approximately the first half of the essay is devoted primarily to the theoretical aspects of the central question. Successive chapters then present England, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States, as Marx viewed them historically and empirically, with emphasis on the changing capacity of each for revolutionary activity and leadership.

While exonerating Marx from the charge of nationalism, Mr. Bloom has amply demonstrated that Marx accepted "the nation as a substantial historical entity" and took "an internationalist rather than a cosmopolitan view of the organization of the world" (p. 204). But it is also made abundantly evident, although the point is not sufficiently emphasized, that Marx emptied the concept *nation* of its ordinary content, substituting the specific Marxian ideas and values. For instance, "the right to separate statehood . . . belonged only to nations, or to combinations of nations, which were in a position to develop modern economies" (p. 35). Again, "Regardless of past culture, background, language, or tradition, national affiliation was determined by one's ties with the economy, class structure, and polity of a given society" (p. 22). Finally, while it is suggested, in spite of the last quotation, that Marx recognized a natural emotion of attachment to one's native land (pp. 24-25, 75, 78), the goal of enlightened patriotism was to Marx the proletarian revolution and the classless society. To this his true patriot would subordinate class interests, and for it he "must further the advance of other nations if only to assure the progress of his own" (p. 206).

In sum, however important the nation was in the Marxian system, its meaning there was very different from that commonly accepted or understood. It was a means to an end, the international order of the future. In this future order the nation would appear destined, on Mr. Bloom's evidence, to a less rich and vital role than his conclusion suggests. Nonetheless, he has wrestled with a significant and knotty problem and made a valuable contribution to a sounder understanding of Marxian thought.

Brown University.

SINCLAIR W. ARMSTRONG.

Versailles Twenty Years After. By PAUL BIRDSALL. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1941. Pp. xiii, 350. \$3.00.)

CRITICISM of the Versailles settlement has run its course; some of it by now is being reconsidered and corrected. Looking back in *Versailles Twenty Years After*, Paul Birdsall joins hands with those who refuse to blame all

the ills of Europe on the treaty. Its territorial settlements, he says, represent "the closest approximation to an ethnographic map of Europe that has been achieved". Keynes's description of it as a "Carthaginian peace in Wilsonian disguise" seems to him even more unjustified than Lloyd George's equally one-sided recent apologia.

But Birdsall's main concern lies elsewhere. He sets out to prove that Woodrow Wilson not only fought with utmost determination to make the treaty comply with the principles he had laid down in his Fourteen Points and subsequent declarations but that he attained notable success in this effort. Where he suffered defeats—as in the case of Shantung and reparations—or was forced to compromise and to accept mere "victories of words"—such as C mandates instead of colonial annexation—the fault is laid to Europe's "reactionary nationalisms", to the forces that undermined Wilson's position at home, and to those colleagues of his who gave him insufficient support.

In a series of brilliantly written chapters, full of dramatic diplomatic fist fights, the author passes in review the struggle over German colonies, the League, disarmament, "dismemberment of Germany", German indemnities, and other issues in which Wilson engaged one after the other of the Allied statesmen. Not one of them, we learn, regarded himself as in the least committed to the Wilsonian principles, although—as the author emphasizes—these principles had been made the legal basis for the settlement with Germany. He describes earlier how Colonel House forced the Allied statesmen, by the use of threats, to accept what became the terms of the pre-Armistice agreement.

Lloyd George, says the author, "was ready to satisfy every necessity except that of keeping his word". Hughes of Australia insisted on down-right annexation of German colonies and attacked Wilson, when the latter recalled the principles of the pre-Armistice agreement, for wanting "to dictate to the countries that had borne the brunt of the fighting". With France the opposition was even more violent. "Centuries of French military tradition", says Birdsall, "were face to face with a made-to-order world newly exported from a new country in a remote continent."

Birdsall himself does not doubt the wisdom of this "made-to-order" world of the American President. Wilson for him "symbolized the forces of reason"; he "emerges as the only statesman of stature at Paris". In his bitter fight with British, French, Italian, and Japanese statesmen, in his gradual estrangement from Colonel House and other "compromisers" and "appeasers" of the American delegation, he alone takes his stand on principle, an isolated caller in the wilderness.

At times it would seem as though the author were interpreting the basic conflict as one between Anglo-Saxon "voluntaryism" and "moralism",

on the one hand, and French military logic, on the other. But while he expresses the view that "Anglo-American preponderance" would have stabilized Europe if only the United States had joined the League, his attacks on Lloyd George, on Hughes, and on the American Senate refute any idea that the blame should lie with one particular nation or group of nations. Wilson was fighting not as a representative of one nation against representatives of others but as an internationalist—a believer in a set of universal principles—against men who were defending national claims and interests. But whenever vital interests of the United States were involved, as with the Monroe Doctrine or in the case of racial equality, Wilson, like all the other statesmen, was forced to insist on the claims of his nation, whatever the effect on his universal objectives might be.

Birdsall's comprehensive discussion of the diplomacy of Versailles will prove an indispensable and invaluable guide to every student of post-World War history. Whether his account of Wilson's heroic one-man struggle will encourage further attempts at a "new diplomacy" based on universal moral principles that brook no compromise, history alone will tell.

Yale University.

ARNOLD WOLFERS.

Modern Democracy. By CARL L. BECKER, John Wendell Anderson Professor of History in Cornell University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. 100. \$2.00.)

THESE three lectures, delivered recently at the University of Virginia, have a timeliness and cogency which demand more serious consideration than is ordinarily accorded much larger books. Surveying democracy over a period of five or six thousand years, the author notes that it is "in some sense an economic luxury" (p. 14), having had only a limited, temporary success because of the material and intellectual conditions on which it is dependent. He discusses its "ideal form laid away in heaven", its "earthly counterpart", and the present dilemma of liberal democracy.

The modern ideal of liberal democracy has assumed the worth, dignity, and creative capacity of the individual and has aimed at the maximum freedom of the individual through a minimum compulsion by the state. Its earthly counterpart has fallen so far short of the ideal that the latter is unrecognizable in any government today. In fact, emancipation of the individual from government restraint by the bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth century has been followed by economic oppressions so heavy as to make political freedom a sham. However, the technology which heightened the oppression of common folk also gave them the means of learning, through the schools, press, and radio, their power to destroy regimes which do not provide the material well-being they deem essential.

Hence any government, in order to survive, must satisfy the masses that

it is attacking the problem of distribution of wealth on lines promising benefits to them. Extension of government regulation of economic enterprise, as a means to this end, became the one common characteristic of liberal democracy, socialism, communism, and fascism. There their likeness ends. The dominant socialist parties by 1914 had abandoned violent revolution as a means to abolish private property and took recourse to the more peaceable processes of politics and legislation permitted within existing democratic regimes. But the failure of democracy to bind mankind by their hopes and fears gave violent dictatorship its opportunity. Promising a "new order" of common welfare and progress, the communists and fascists both rejected the democratic ideal in practice, although the communists admitted it in theory. Both rejected reason for will, right for naked force, and tolerated search for truth only when useful in politics. They revealed themselves as mere recurrences—of divine right in theory, of tyranny in practice.

The dilemma of liberal democracy becomes: how to curtail individual economic freedom sufficiently to bring that equality of opportunity and possessions essential to democracy, and how simultaneously to preserve that individual freedom in political and intellectual life essential to democracy. As the processes of democracy require friendly conciliation, the great need is for time to conciliate. With the majority demanding satisfaction of needs, the minority beneficiaries of private property may prefer forcible repression to willing surrender of their capitalist system. Time is indispensable for peaceable experiment and to win acceptance of adjustments. The time available is dangerously shortened by modern warfare, with its catastrophic dislocation of economy and its destruction of morale.

Such warfare may result in the destruction of democratic institutions within any country waging it; but those institutions could not possibly survive a Nazi victory, and so, if they are to perish anyway, "it seems on the whole better that they should be destroyed by their friends than by their enemies" (p. 97).

Mr. Becker's most valuable observation is to the effect that the discords in the capitalist system are probably less profound than those between our technological power and our ability to use it wisely. The machines we invent generate social forces to which we have submitted rather than understood and controlled. The survival of civilization must depend upon the maintenance somewhere of a place where the human mind can prove capable of turning material power to rational and humane ends. The sole reason for cherishing democracy may be that it still provides the most favorable conditions for that effort.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS.

ANCIENT HISTORY

Life and Thought in the Greek and Roman World. By M. CARY, Professor of Ancient History, University of London, and T. J. HAARHOFF, Professor of Classics, University of the Witwatersrand. (London: Methuen and Company. 1940. Pp. x, 348. 8s. 6d.)

IN this volume the authors provide a brief but comprehensive sketch of the Greek and Roman civilizations in their varied aspects. It is intended for the general student of the ancient classics and for the intelligent layman.

Many good books have been written on either Greek civilization or Roman civilization, but Professors Cary and Haarhoff have tried a bold experiment: to do two things at once by treating the Greek and Roman civilizations as "an integral unit".

The authors, who are competent scholars, were not unaware of the difficulty of their task and indeed that its very propriety might be open to question. In consequence they have sought to forestall criticism by stating in the preface that their "endeavour to treat Greek and Roman life as a single subject may call forth some criticism and will probably be condemned in some quarters as unscientific". And their prophecies will surely be fulfilled.

As might have been expected, the most successful sections of the book are just those where the nature of the material absolutely requires separate and individual treatment for Greece and for Rome, for example, in the chapters on the geographical and political backgrounds.

But where the authors try "to treat as an integral unit" such great fields of Greece and Rome as the material background, social life, etc., many generalizations, which are necessarily employed, are very misleading and often do not apply to both civilizations. A good example of this unfortunate method is to be found in the discussion of slavery (pp. 127-32): "Many rural slaves never left the estate; those who were suspected of planning escape were kept in chains and housed by night in an underground dormitory. . . . Servile rebellions were crushed without mercy: insurgents who had surrendered were sometimes crucified *en masse*." As the scholar knows, these statements do not apply at all to Greece: there were no servile rebellions in Greece and no wholesale crucifixions. Note, too, such assertions as that "custom required that wealthy persons should maintain a large household establishment" (p. 130); "the effect of slavery was to create a 'mean white' population . . . which preferred to live penuriously on small allotments, or to depend on public or private patronage" (p. 131); "even in the strong-minded slavery instilled a latent fear of reprisals which found an outlet now and then in the unpitying repression of mutiny" (p. 132). But slavery at Rome and at Athens, and many other subjects as well, must be discussed *separately* if a true and clear picture is to be given.

Exception may well be taken to such statements as the following: "At Athens, and probably elsewhere in Greece, women were not admitted to the theatre" (p. 142): this dogmatic assertion is seriously open to question. "Sophist, a word that originally meant 'one who puts you wise'" (p. 190): but Sophist originally meant "a wise man". "The stage [of the Greek theatre] was small" (p. 217): but the Greek theatre had no stage, as most scholars believe. "Hesiod was roughly a contemporary of Homer" (p. 238). "Mimnermus expressed the sensations of the 'ordinary sensual man'" (p. 239): this hardly does justice to the founder of erotic elegy. And how false is this unqualified assertion: "Ancient education was designed for the upper classes" (p. 283). "It was no mere accident that the *Odyssey*, an epic of conjugal fidelity, was the 'best seller' of the ancient world" (p. 144): this is surely a naïve and modern assumption, that the *Odyssey* was popular because of Penelope's loyalty and not by reason of the thrilling adventures of the wily and much-wandering Odysseus.

The serious student will need to supplement and to correct the account given by consulting specialized treatments of the two civilizations.

Columbia University.

LA RUE VAN HOOK.

An Archaeological Record of Rome from the Seventh to the Second Century B. C. By INEZ SCOTT RYBERG, Associate Professor of Latin, Vassar College. [Studies and Documents, edited by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, XIII, Parts 1 and 2.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 222; plates 54, 223-47. \$6.00.)

CONTINUING her important investigations of Roman traditions in the light of archaeology (see *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, VII [1929], 7-118), Mrs. Ryberg has discussed in this volume pottery, terra cottas, bronzes, small objects, and painting discovered in Roman excavations. Anyone who has read the inadequate excavation reports and has tried to find his way through the material in the Roman museums of Forum, Palatine, and Antiquarium will appreciate the task that confronted the author and admire the order that she has made out of chaos. In the first chapter, on the Etruscan period, Mrs. Ryberg differs from other investigators, whose work she uses, in that Rome is the center of interest for her. Under a powerful dynasty the city had active trade, especially with the Tiber Valley but also with the Etruscan coast, from which must have come most of the importations of Greek wares. But Roman tombs are much poorer than the cemeteries of the neighboring Etruscan cities. Evidently the restrictions on extravagant burial rites recorded in the Twelve Tables reflect conditions of the kingship.

Mrs. Ryberg's greatest contribution is in the study of the fifth century. Since excavations have produced no new types of pottery which can be attributed to that period, it has often been argued that the cemeteries have not yet been found. The author shows the impossibility of such an assump-

tion. The fabrics produced in the Etruscan period persisted in debased form through the fifth and well into the fourth century. Imports, best illustrated by the deposit found at the temple of Vesta, were few (p. 66). The discoveries indicate a retrogression which reflects the political condition of Rome in a period when, removed from leadership in the Latin League, she was occupied largely with internal dissension and with resistance to the depredations of Aequi and Volsci. Even after Rome gained mastery over Latium in the fourth century and gradually extended her power north and south, the archaeological record lags behind political growth.

The author protests against the general assumption that objects of fine workmanship cannot have been made at Rome. The famous Ficoroni *cista*, some good pottery and terra cottas, and the interesting historical painting from a chamber tomb on the Esquiline provide evidence for artistic development in Rome from the fourth to the second century.

This volume, published in celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Vassar College and dedicated to Tenney Frank, who suggested the subject of investigation, should be in the hands of every student of the Roman Republic. The illustrations are documents of primary importance, and the text, written with clarity, grace, and insight, will prove an unfailing guide.

Bryn Mawr College.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy: An Analysis of the Sources. By KURT VON FRITZ, Professor of Greek and Latin, Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 113. \$2.00.)

THE title of this study adequately indicates its purpose and scope. After a brief preface the author plunges directly into the analysis of the literary sources, to which three chapters are devoted. The emphasis is on Dikaiarchos, Aristoxenos, and Timaios. Here the first step is to reconstruct the accounts of these authors by determining how much of the material in later writers such as Porphyrios, Iamblichos, and Justinus is derived from them. Next follows a chapter devoted to the numismatic evidence. The fifth and last chapter, entitled "The Character of the 'Pythagorean Rule' in Southern Italy", gives the conclusions drawn from the investigations in the earlier chapters. Special problems are discussed in three appendixes. There is a useful index. As a whole the argument is very close, and the book is definitely a work for specialists.

The general impression given by the study is a strange mixture of confidence in the author's judgment and surprise at the number of inaccuracies in details. These are particularly numerous in the pages in which extracts from several authors are given in parallel columns and include such things as incorrect references (Parallel II: 170 for 170; Parallel III: Justinus XX, 4, xviii ff. for XX, 4, x ff.; Parallel VI: Justinus XX, 4, xvi for XX, 4, viii f.; title of Appendix C: 252 for 254), omissions not indicated and obviously unintentional (Parallel I: in two of three citations; Parallel VI: Iamblichos

54 and 37 and Justinus; Parallel VIII and Appendix C: citation from Diogenes Laertios), inversions in word order (Parallel VI: Justinus and Iamblichos 50; Parallel VII: Iamblichos 19), grammatical changes (Parallel VII: Porphyrios 4 [read 2], three names in the accusative instead of the genitive), and even the substitution of entirely different words from those of the original (Parallel VI: Iamblichos 37). Perfection in such matters is almost impossible, but the list given is far from exhaustive and even so indicates that inaccuracies are too numerous. They seldom, however, affect the argument.

Otherwise, as already implied, the author's work as a whole inspires confidence. Particularly interesting is the analysis of Aristoxenos, who is held to have based his account on the recollections of the last of the Pythagoreans and to have been somewhat prejudiced in favor of the Pythagoreans. In his study of the chronology the author questions the more precise systems adopted by earlier scholars but considers the following points secure: the arrival of Pythagoras in Kroton *ca.* 530 B.C., an anti-Pythagorean movement early in the fifth century, the great anti-Pythagorean movement between 450 and 440 B.C., and the final departure of the Pythagoreans from Italy and their appearance in Greece *ca.* 390 B.C. (p. 92). As to the "Pythagorean Rule", the author does not believe in direct control of government by the Pythagorean order as such but in extensive influence by Pythagoreans in Kroton and other cities. This latter point appears well established. The author is too sensible to claim to have spoken the final word in every case, but he undoubtedly has made important progress.

University of Chicago.

J. A. O. LARSEN.

Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the Third Century B. C. dealing with Palestine and Egypt. Edited with Introductions and Notes by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN, Professor of Ancient History, Columbia University, CLINTON WALKER KEYES, Professor of Greek and Latin, Columbia University, and HERBERT LIEBESNY. Volume II. [Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, No. 4.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. x, 221. \$6.00.)

THIS volume completes the publication of the Zenon documents in the possession of Columbia University. Most of the fifty-eight numbers are fragmentary, and some of the longer accounts have already been published elsewhere but are included here for the sake of completeness.

Number 75 is a statement of the annual expenses on one of the properties owned by Apollonius in the Fayum. Labor is classified in three groups. Those regularly employed and living on the estate (called *paidēs* in no. 77) are paid a monthly wage (average 1 dr. 4 ob.) and receive a monthly ration of grain and a yearly allowance for clothing. The *misthioi* receive a slightly higher monthly wage (2½ dr.), receive the same food

rations as the *paides*, but do not have any allowance for clothing. The third group, called *kātamenioi*, if employed throughout the year receive the highest pay per month but do not share in the distribution either of food or of clothing. To the last class belong the vinedressers and probably those workmen hired for special duties. The minimum allowance for clothing is 14 dr. a year, and women have the same allowance as men. Indeed the only discrimination against the two women employed on the estate is the fact that they receive 2 ob. a month less than the men. Clothing was sold by weight, and in no. 107 the price is given as 8 dr. per mina. At this rate each person was allowed about 2 pounds of cloth yearly. The *paides* and *misthioi* received $1\frac{1}{2}$ artabas of grain monthly. In no. 77 the cost of grain distributed to the workmen is given as $2\frac{1}{2}$ ob. per art., and the cost of preparation as $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob. per art. This price for wheat is unusually low, and possibly the estate sold a very poor quality for food, or the estate may have credited grain from its own stores at a purely nominal price. In the Roman period the ration of grain was usually an artaba per month. In the document as preserved only one person received an allowance for oil. He was allowed 12 dr. a year for this purpose, and for some unknown reason his clothing allowance was 25 dr. According to no. 90 an overseer had a salary of 5 dr. monthly, 20 dr. for clothing, and 2 cotylae of oil (at 2 ob. per cotyle) monthly. Apparently there was no general contribution of oil or wine on this portion of the estate. Although expenses amounted to 3,800 dr., the owner set down the amount as 4,000 dr. No account was taken of such items as amortization, overhead, taxes, or similar charges unless they are included in incidentals (τὰ προσπίπτοντα). In the last line the owner reckons his income as 7,000 dr., evidently an approximation, and the apparent profit from this estate is 3,000 dr.

Number 95 shows that the yield of hay (*chortos*) is approximately a ton and a half per acre. *Chortos* is a generic word for fodder, but the weight of the yield supports the view that it is alfalfa or some form of clover.

Since the house rental of $2\frac{1}{2}$ dr. monthly (no. 108) exceeds the average monthly wage of the employees on the estate of Apollonius, we may infer that the ordinary laborer was housed as well as fed by his employer.

While the legal rate of interest is supposed to be 24 per cent at this period, it was sometimes exceeded in private loans. A woman borrowed money at 72 per cent (no. 83), and when the claim was not settled, the creditor tried to seize both the woman and her son. The husband protested to the king that the loan was illegal and that the detention of free persons as security on the private initiative of the creditor was contrary to law.

As a supplement to the Zenon documents three other Ptolemaic papyri are here published. Of these no. 120 is most important. Ably restored, it contains a royal proclamation concerning a new tax of 2 per cent imposed

by Ptolemy on income from private estates, and this revenue went as a *dorea* to the temples. The commentary contains a valuable study of all *doreai* known to exist in Ptolemaic times.

Princeton University.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

Christianity and Classical Culture: A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine. By CHARLES NORRIS COCHRANE. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. vii, 523. \$8.00.)

"THE theme of this work", Cochrane begins his preface, "is the revolution in thought and action which came about through the impact of Christianity upon the Graeco-Roman World." Of the three parts—"Reconstruction", "Renovation", "Regeneration"—into which this book is divided, the first describes and analyzes the Roman World under Augustus and his successors to the end of the third century. Part II is devoted to Constantine and Constantius, to the pagan reaction under Julian, and to the emperors of the later fourth century, especially Theodosius I. Part III deals chiefly with Athanasius and Augustine as the leading exponents, indeed creators, of orthodox Trinitarianism. Cochrane's book is remarkable alike for its erudition and for its challenging interpretations, a book to provoke admiration and dissent in almost equal measure. Its strength lies in the many excellent characterizations and appraisals of periods and persons. *e.g.*, the *Pax Augusta*, the chaotic third century, the economic reorganization under Constantine and his successors, the thought of Vergil, Julian the Apostate. Again, the factual accuracy in a book of so wide a scope, based on sources as diverse as the late Republican and Augustan writers, the Codex Theodosianus, and much patristic literature, deserves the highest praise. Its weaknesses are to be found in some aspects of Cochrane's treatment and in certain basic assumptions which are, to say the least, questionable. In his preface he claims that he has treated his subject with complete objectivity. Yet after reading the book through one is struck by his partiality, implied rather than expressed. While much less than fair to "classicism", he exalts Augustinian theology beyond all measure; and he also gives the impression of impatience with, if not contempt for, both ancient and modern science. He could not, indeed, without unduly enlarging his book, have dealt fully with all the Fathers of the church. But by singling out two for detailed treatment he has represented them as more original than they were; and the reader who is not well acquainted with the Christian literature of the first four centuries may be misled into believing that the development of Christian thought was the work of only two or three men. It is surely indefensible to dismiss Origen—Cochrane takes every occasion to tilt at Platonism and its derivatives—in less than a page and to name Jerome only for the sake of three or four short quotations. And even less weighty writers whom he ignores may merit brief mention; for example, did not

Augustine himself derive the antithesis between the *civitas terrena* and the *civitas dei* from Tyconius? Furthermore, though the doctrines of Augustine were immensely influential after his time, they were certainly not adopted *in toto* by the church. One need only recall his teaching on predestination and the subsequent history of that dogma down to the end of the ninth century and even later. What justification is there for the sharp distinction implied between the Christian and pagan population in their attitude to mundane affairs? An Augustine may have thought in terms of a complete reorganization of the world, but Cochrane fails to prove that the rank and file of Christians did other than accept the existing political and economic structure of the empire as unquestioningly as their pagan contemporaries.

Some criticisms of detail follow: to translate *fabri et centonarii* (p. 304) as "rag-pickers and carpenters" is doubly wrong. Whatever the *centonarii* were, they were not "rag-pickers" (*cf.* the Solva decree in *Jahreshefte Österreich. Arch. Inst.*, XVIII, 98 ff.); besides, the translation quite obscures the fact that the two groups together formed fire brigades and for that reason were granted privileges by the emperors. When Cochrane praises the educational plans of Julian and Valentinian (pp. 286, 310), does he not forget that municipal control of education was as old as the Hellenistic Age and that imperial and municipal chairs of rhetoric and of philosophy were already being established in the Eastern Empire during the second century? Whatever we may think of Augustine's *Confessions*, they are assuredly not "marked by a naive simplicity" (p. 387). Ammianus does not say that Julian ascribed to supernatural agency the explosions that prevented the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem (*cf.* p. 291). It was the Christian writers, moreover, who were responsible for spreading stories of supernatural intervention.

The important fact remains, however, that although this book may arouse strong disagreement, it should be studied by all serious students of the Roman Imperial Age.

Cornell University.

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

Philo and the Oral Law: The Philonic Interpretation of Biblical Law in Relation to the Palestinian Halakāh. By SAMUEL BELKIN, Assistant Professor of Hellenistic and Rabbinic Literature, Yeshiva College. [Harvard Semitic Series.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 292. \$3.50.)

An Introduction to Philo Judaeus. By ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH, Professor of the History of Religion, Fellow of Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 223. \$2.75.)

As Belkin justly remarks, the voluminous literature dealing with Philo Judaeus pays little attention to Philo, the master of Jewish law: "Philo

has been studied with great interest, but *Judaeus* has been left unnoticed" (p. vii). The author, who is equally at home in biblical, rabbinic, and Hellenistic literature, is fully equipped to undertake the difficult task of examining the question of the extent to which the Halakah or the Oral Law of Palestine influenced Alexandrian Judaism. Examining the Jewish legal erudition which Philo manifests in his writings, Belkin reaches the conclusion that it is incorrect to draw a sharp demarcation line between Alexandrian and Palestinian Jews; in his judgment they represent two groups of Jewry intimately interrelated. Belkin radically disagrees with I. Heinemann, who in his *Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung* denies Philo's familiarity with the Palestinian Halakah. As for the theory propounded by Professor Goodenough in his *The Jurisprudence of the Jewish Courts in Egypt*, that Philo's knowledge of the law was based on the decisions of special Jewish courts in Alexandria, Belkin accepts the existence of such courts and believes that those decisions which have no parallel in Roman and Greek law were based upon Palestinian sources; thus he thinks that the Oral Law which originated in Palestine was practiced among the Jews of the Diaspora and that Philo was familiar with it.

By presenting Philo and his writings to the beginner in Philonic studies Goodenough fills an obvious gap in the literature on this author. In six short chapters Goodenough gives a survey of Philo's writings and analyzes the writer as a political thinker, a Jew, and a philosopher. Of paramount value for the beginner is the introductory chapter of the book, entitled "Method". Since Philo is one of the least systematic authors, suggestions of how to find one's way in the intricate labyrinth of his extremely controversial writings are appropriate and of great value. Illustrating to what diametrically opposed conclusions the students of Philo often come, Goodenough draws a list of pointers which might be summarized as follows: First, every student must familiarize himself with the original writings of Philo, in which he will look in vain for a single and exhaustive discussion of any one problem. Second, if the student wishes to find Philo's ideas on some specific subject, he must collect the scattered pertinent passages from all his writings. Third, in order to understand the connotations of the Philonic vocabulary an acquaintance with the world of Jews and Greeks in the Hellenistic Era is indispensable. Fourth, perhaps the most difficult task for the student is to control the inevitable preconceptions which color his evaluation of Philo; even if he succeeds in checking these prejudices, he will hardly draw a portrait of Philo acceptable to others. These suggestions might be followed with profit not only by the beginner or the general reader but by every scholar who embarks upon the perplexing study of Philonic ideas.

University of Nebraska.

MICHAEL GINSBURG.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Passing of the Saint: A Study of a Cultural Type. By JOHN M. MECKLIN. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 205. \$2.00.)

THIS work contains many beautiful pages and not a little scholarship, but unfortunately preconceptions and assumptions completely undermine and destroy both its goodness and its truth. Christ is not divine, St. Paul's preaching is independent of, and even in contradiction to, Christ's teachings, while St. Augustine's speculation has no foundation in the Gospel but is a fictive creation—the Christian Myth. Then there are contradictions too numerous to mention in detail. Thus over several pages the author describes the irreconcilable conflict between life in the cloister and life in the world for the medieval saint, and he then avers later that “the medieval saint emancipated himself from the world in order to serve the world” (p. 178). St. Francis “pierced the Pauline-Augustinian version of the Christian Myth . . . and discovered the real Jesus” (p. 132), but to give coherence to his characteristic ideas “we must put back of them the world scheme of the great Christian Myth outlined by Augustine in his *City of God* and basic in the thought of the Middle Ages” (p. 140). Much more tragic is the author's lament from preface to epilogue of our secular, selfish, individualistic, modern civilization, while he approves and maintains the causes and principles of which our present unhappy world is the inevitable result. There is occasional loose use of terms—*e.g.*, worship for veneration, the *sacrament* of the Mass for the *sacrifice*, etc. Failure to make proper distinctions sometimes results in misinterpretation—thus occasion and cause are not distinguished in reference to a passage cited from Delehaye (pp. 20-21), nor are counsel and precept (p. 186). Many statements throughout the book can be seriously challenged. The author asserts that an optimistic view of human nature is modern (p. 2). Had he read more of Gilson, he would have learned of the Christian optimism of the patristic and medieval periods. It is said several times that the civilization of the entire Middle Ages was semibarbarous. No enlightened scholar today would attempt to defend such a position. Again, it is stated that “the modern ecclesiastical saint emancipates himself from the world to serve a church in its efforts to dominate the world” (p. 178). Was this the aim of Theresa of Lisieux in her Carmel, the curé of Ars in his village parish, or of Mother Cabrini in her hospital? A small historical inaccuracy appears on page 115—Abélard had not written his *Sic et non* when he was condemned at Soissons in 1121. Defining the saint as the embodiment of the social consciousness of an age, the author ends by destroying the meaning of the term. Also this definition enables him to create a cultural type saint. Any saint who is not true to type is either an ecclesiastical saint or no saint at all. A truer definition would have been that the saint is one who loves God wholeheartedly for Himself and his fellow men for God. The author recognizes this at one place and truly says:

"Love dominated the great Augustinian tradition, but it varied in its expression with the ages and personalities of the saints" (p. 111). Outside early medieval hagiography there is no "type" saint, for love is manifold in its expression, and saint differs from saint over the wide range of human personalities. Moreover, love is not limited by time or place, and so the saint has not passed but is with us today as always in the long centuries of Christendom.

University of Notre Dame.

PHILIP S. MOORE.

The Truth about Leif Ericsson and the Greenland Voyages. By WILLIAM B. GOODWIN. (Boston: Meador Publishing Company. 1941. Pp. 445. \$3.50.)

MR. Goodwin has given an ambitious title to his book but to no purpose, for it cannot conceal the fact that his work makes no contribution to the subject. He starts out by identifying Streamfiord, which he calls the universal landfall, as the harbor of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and in that neighborhood he places Leif's Houses. It does not disturb him that no source connects Leif with Streamfiord. This is sufficient to show how carelessly and arbitrarily he uses the sources. Having thus identified the various places, he takes up the question of Norumbega, which he discusses at length, and he adduces twenty "proofs" of its name being derived from Norway; it was there that Leif's Houses were standing—in other words, it was Nova Norvegia! He thus revives Professor Horsford's old theory but disagrees with him as to the precise location of that elusive city or whatever it was.

Among the addenda is to be found, however, an article from another pen, entitled "Vikings and Turkeys", which introduces a new "Vinland find" to American readers. I may perhaps be permitted here to clear up the matter. In the summer of 1939, during restorations in the Cathedral of Sleswick on a frieze round a thirteenth century painting of a religious subject, there were discovered eight unmistakable pictures of turkeys. This created a sensation in the German press. Several historians of art were consulted, and they declared that it was "ausgeschlossen" that the frieze could be of a later date than the painting itself. The only possible explanation was that this bird, or a picture of it, had been brought at that early date to Europe from Vinland, and that is assumed in Mr. Goodwin's book. Dr. Erwin Stresemann, the ornithologist, remaining skeptical, started an investigation and as a result found that four turkeys had been painted into the frieze in 1891 and the rest in 1920! The painter of the first four is still alive and says that he had no intention of deceiving but that he honestly thought that the turkey was a native of the Old World. It makes a good story—at the expense of the historians of art. Would that we could so easily find the perpetrators of the various Runic inscriptions which have been "discovered" on this continent and of which Mr. Goodwin includes in his book a goodly number of the crudest kind.

Cornell University.

HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON.

Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge. By ELIZABETH LAWRENCE MENDELL. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xvii, 213. \$7.00.)

THIS monograph comprises a brief historical introduction, two chapters on the Romanesque chevet and façade in Saintonge, and nine on the sculpture which adorned them. A good, selected bibliography is appended to the text. The illustrations are divided between line-cuts in the text, illustrating the ornamental motifs, and the colotype plates at the end.

These plates, nearly all of ensembles, give no adequate illustration of the sculptural details but are an excellent accompaniment to what the reviewer found best in the book, *viz.*, the fine treatment on pages 29 ff. (and elsewhere) of the architectural and sculptural complex of the Saintonge façade, in which there is not only a clear differentiation of this Romanesque form from its congeners in Poitou and Anjou but a penetrating analysis of the aesthetic objective of these masters of decorative sculpture. "The façade of the West is conceived as a monumental screen, the field for a highly developed decoration of which the arcade is the keynote and which is basically a framework for sculpture."

The discussion of ornamental motifs, of subjects, and of forms is practically a descriptive catalogue, useful for reference and lightened by many illuminating observations. While the author does not attempt to solve the knotty problems of the chronology of the Romanesque in Saintonge and does not even employ what seems to be a valid test for date, namely the later substitution of figures parallel to the archivolt instead of those normal to the curve, her text contains numerous valuable observations in this sense. The squinch seems to have preceded the pendentive in Saintongeais construction of domes. The usual sequence of registers in the façade is portal-story, arcade, gable; when the last is omitted, the square screen shows affinity with late Roman city-gates in Gaul (*e.g.*, the Porte S. André at Autun). The overlapping figures of archivolts, characteristic of Poitou, occur only once in Saintonge (Echillais). Grouped tori occur so often as to be a local motif in ornament. The general principle of Saintongeais ornament is to keep it integrated with the architecture; the relief is either flat to follow surface in a coloristic pattern or bold to underline the volume of moldings.

Altogether, medievalists should be grateful to Mrs. Mendell for this sympathetic and useful monograph on a corner of the Romanesque scene which hitherto has been very cavalierly treated in our handbooks. Whatever is lacking in detail that could not be expected in a book of this brevity can be made up by exploring the excellent selection of references collected in her bibliographical note (pp. 179 ff.).

Princeton University.

C. R. MOREY.

Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies. Edited by RICHARD HUNT and RAYMOND KLIBANSKY. (London: Warburg Institute. 1941. Pp. 149.)

THIS is Volume I, Number 1 of the new series of studies long announced to appear as a supplement to the distinguished *Journal* also published by the Warburg Institute. This first issue was almost completely set up in type at the St. Catherine's Press in Bruges when the Germans invaded Belgium. As a result of the unhappy circumstances the issue has had to be reprinted in England. The editors have not only done their work with care, attracted a distinguished list of contributors, and published studies that advance the boundaries of scholarship, but they have also managed, in spite of wartime restrictions, to maintain the high standards for paper, printing, and general appearance that have distinguished all of the Warburg publications. Seven of the nine studies deal with topics of interest to medievalists; the remaining two (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 191 and 193) add to our knowledge of Spinoza and of Leibnitz. In "Anselm and his English Pupils" R. W. Southern shows clearly, in learned fashion, the necessity for reappraising Anselm, whose influence waned soon after his death with the growth of a fuller and more perfect knowledge of Aristotelian logic. For Prantl to call Anselm *logisch impotent* Southern considers nothing less than brutal, especially so when aimed at one who had so much to offer, even if he were somewhat ignorant of the refinements of Aristotelian methods. R. W. Hunt, "Alberic of Monte Cassino and Reginald of Canterbury", refuting Haskins and Raby and supporting Ingauenez and H. M. Willard, claims that the *Versus super rethoricam* of the twelfth century Munich manuscript (Clm. 14784) is "an extract from book IV of the *Malchus* of Reginald". André Wilmart analyzes "Le florilège mixte de Thomas Bekynton" in a study to be completed later. It is hoped that the editors have the complete study at hand, for news of Wilmart's death in Paris reached America last summer. V. H. Galbraith saves from complete obscurity a London schoolmaster of the fifteenth century in his "John Seward and his Circle". For many the most significant essay in this first number will doubtless be D. A. Gallus's "Philip the Chancellor and the *De anima* ascribed to Robert Grosseteste". Though Philip's *Summa de bono* was obviously the pattern for the *De anima*, the latter could not possibly have been written before 1230 at the earliest. Gallus argues that at that date Grosseteste was in the heyday of his active career, and one cannot imagine so powerful and independent a thinker as the author of so mediocre a compilation. Clement C. J. Webb, "Note on Books bequeathed by John of Salisbury to the Cathedral Library of Chartres", identified in August, 1936, four books in the Bibliothèque municipale of Chartres that may have belonged to John of Salisbury. These articles, as their titles indicate, are all primarily for specialists; yet several should appeal to a wider circle of readers than that for which they were planned.

Princeton University.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda. By PALMER A. THROOP, Assistant Professor of History, University of Michigan. (Amsterdam: N. V. Swets & Zeitlinger. 1940. Pp. xv, 291. \$3.00.)

THE processes by which public opinion developed and expressed itself in the Middle Ages must have been slow and ineffective. Nevertheless, on matters of such general interest as the crusade the attitude of the upper classes did assert itself effectively in the course of time. Popes who promoted crusading knew very well that the movement could not succeed without the support of general enthusiasm, and during the twelfth century their efforts and propaganda made the crusade popular. But in the thirteenth century public opinion became indifferent and even definitely hostile, and this change, Professor Throop shows conclusively, was the chief reason for the failure of the crusading movement. Furthermore, the political power of the papacy, which had developed along with, and in great measure from, crusading activities, also decayed when the popes were no longer able to rouse enthusiasm for the Holy War.

Pope Gregory X (1271-76), before undertaking to promote the crusade which he earnestly desired, undertook a survey "to feel the pulse of public opinion". He requested ecclesiastics to get information by interviews and send in reports in the form of memoirs. The four extant memoirs which are analyzed in this book reveal rather frankly what contemporaries thought and said about the crusade. Professor Throop, however, has not limited his survey to these ecclesiastical reports. He has made an extensive survey of lay literature, chiefly Old French and Provençal poetry, so that his study may be called a historical poll of public opinion on the crusade for a rather definite period. He has interviewed, through the medium of the sources, representatives of all the classes upon the support of which the crusade depended, and his survey shows that the people of Christendom were not going to save the Holy Land. For this attitude the papacy itself was partly responsible, for it had crusaded against heretics and political opponents and had made the Holy War an excuse for financial exactions. The failure of the crusade of Gregory X was not the end of crusading or of the writing of plans and memoirs on the subject, but this excellent study of thirteenth century public opinion shows why there were no more general crusades. The old enthusiasm which had sent armies to the Levant had changed into doubt and criticism of the idea and of the use which the papacy had made of the movement for its own gain.

Professor Throop has made a most significant contribution to the history of the crusade and the papacy. He has also demonstrated the importance of more careful and extensive study of public opinion in the past. The book should have both an index and a general bibliography, but such additions would have put a still greater strain upon the foreign typesetters, whose

mistakes could not be corrected by the author because of the blockade. A continuation of this study to 1291, which is promised, will be most welcome.

University of Texas.

FREDERIC DUNCALF.

Early Gild Records of Toulouse. Edited with an Introduction by Sister MARY AMBROSE MULHOLLAND. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. li, 193. \$3.00.)

THE widening study of the abundant material available to medieval scholars from southern France has received a significant addition in this work by Sister Mary Ambrose. Thanks to her skillful, scholarly editing the entire corpus of the early gild records of Toulouse is now made available where only small fragments were previously extant in printed form. These records in Latin text, dating from 1270 to 1322, include statutes dealing with the guilds of pastry makers, butchers, wax merchants, candlemakers, oil merchants, wine sellers, weavers, fullers, dyers, dressers of skins, ropemakers, tilemakers, carpenters and joiners, bridle makers, dice makers, lumber merchants, and cutlers. The scope and fullness of the material compares most favorably with Étienne Boileau's *Livre des métiers*. Why it has not been made available to scholars long ago is a mystery. Certainly it will have to be considered in any future work done on French medieval gild organization and development.

The text is accompanied by an extremely full and valuable bibliography and by equally full and painstaking indexes. The bibliography is of particular value in that it contains a unique list of almost all books and articles dealing with industry and economic conditions in twelfth and thirteenth century France. Even more valuable is a glossary of the medieval Latin and Provençal business terms found in the text. This glossary will fill a longfelt need, for which DuCange is not adequate, as anyone is well aware who has attempted to use twelfth and thirteenth century Latin documents from the *Midi*. For this glossary all students of Languedoc are indebted to the author.

It is unfortunate, however, that Sister Mary Ambrose has restricted her text so narrowly and has not included Toulousan documents referring to guilds earlier than 1270. She mentions some of these in her introduction but does not include them in her text. Their inclusion in this present work would aid in gathering in one place all information concerning early guilds in Toulouse. As it is, this omission seriously hampers any study of the origins of guilds in this important *Midi* metropolis. Furthermore, documents which tell of the struggle between the French king and the *capitouls* of Toulouse to control the guilds, also mentioned in her introduction, would have enriched the value of the collection if included in the text.

It is, perhaps, the failure to include such documents which makes the introduction unsatisfactory in some ways. While there is a most clear and careful description of the guilds from the technological standpoint, almost nothing else is considered. One looks in vain for a discussion of the origins

of the gilds, of their relation to the military organizations of the burgesses of the town, of their part, if any, in the election of the consuls or *capitouls* of Toulouse and their influence on town government. One finds no probing into possible conflict between merchant gilds and artisan gilds or between masters and journeymen within the gilds themselves. Information on these points would indeed make this work, good as it is, far more valuable to scholars. It might also help clear up some of the most perplexing problems which confront a historian interested in the long-neglected and important towns of southern France. The failure to include such points in the introduction, however, does not detract from the scholarly nature of Sister Mary Ambrose's work, and it remains a significant contribution to the materials which aid us in understanding the economic life of Languedoc in medieval times.

University of South Carolina.

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS.

Valdemar Atterdag: Danmarks Riges Genopretter, skildret i ny historisk Belysning efter de samtidige Kilders Beretning. By PETER LUNDBYE. (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard. 1939. Pp. 246.)

It is good to have a new book on Valdemar Atterdag, and it is a pleasure to review a book which is thoroughly readable, to a degree entertaining, and which the author and publisher have made particularly attractive in format, type, and brevity. Although Lundbye courts the attention of the general reader, he nevertheless hopes to be awarded a favorable judgment at the bar of history. In both instances he has succeeded rather well.

The book tells the story of Valdemar Atterdag, the "Restorer of Denmark", who long has been conceded a place among Denmark's most prominent heroes. In 1340 he fell heir to a title but practically to no kingdom. Denmark had sunk to the lowest depth in its history, and all its provinces save one were held by foreign intruders. Although only a youth of twenty years, he possessed the energy, the cool calculation, and the determination to gain a kingdom by any means. In twenty years he wrested Denmark from the oppressor, reuniting all her provinces under himself. Had he been satisfied with these successes, his fame would have been without blemish and the evening of his stormy life peaceful. His gains, however, whetted his appetite, and he schemed for the establishment of a Danish-Baltic empire. The road to imperial greatness was strewn with numerous obstacles—chief among these the Hansa towns—proving his undoing. Defeated by the Hansa coalition and overwhelmed by the Baltic situation, his life came to an inglorious end in 1375.

Lundbye is not wholly successful in his intention, set forth in the subtitle, to tell the story of the great king "in new historical light according to contemporary accounts". These accounts are meager, and although he rests most of his conclusions upon sources, he nevertheless also leans heavily upon secondary accounts, primarily, no doubt, upon Reinhardt's *Valdemar At-*

terdag og hans Kongegjerning (1880). A more serious indictment, however, is the author's seeming failure to consult many recent accounts, particularly those of such noted Swedish scholars as S. Tunberg, S. Engström, G. Carlsson, and Å. Stille, who throw new light on many Valdemar problems. This judgment may seem harsh in view of the fact that Lundbye's book lacks notes and bibliography as well as an index. In spite of certain shortcomings the book has a very real value. Its failure to be definitive reopens the subject for future investigation of Baltic history in the time of the great Valdemar.

University of California at Los Angeles.

DAVID K. BJORK.

The Living Chaucer. By PERCY VAN DYKE SHELLY. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. vi, 331. \$3.00.)

INTENDED for "the general reader and lover of poetry more than the specialist" (p. v), *The Living Chaucer* is a critical and not a historical study and is concerned more with interpretation than with fact. Shelly views Chaucer pretty much from the point of view of the present day and aims to "stress his poetry and dwell upon Chaucer as an artist rather than as a subject for scholarly research or as an historian and illustrator of his age" (p. v). Believing that "scholarship, as distinct from criticism", does little "to attract readers to Chaucer or to reveal his true position as a poet" (pp. 20, 21), Shelly emphasizes Chaucer's originality and modernity, sometimes at the expense of historical perspective. To state (p. 13) that Chaucer "was the first realist in English literature, the first humorist, the first master of character portrayal, the first master of dialogue, the first master of pathos, the first great narrative poet . . . the first great exponent of verse melody and technique", is perhaps to attract readers, but it is certainly to relinquish normal critical standards and to deny the existence of much Old and Middle English literature. To contend that the portraits in the general prologue of the *Canterbury Tales* are "not dramatic" (p. 195) but "static" and consist of "still-life" (p. 204) is, I think, to ignore much implied conflict and drama obvious to Chaucer's contemporaries. One further example must suffice. After disparaging the study of "sources" and after minimizing the influence of Boccaccio on Chaucer, Shelly discusses "Chaucer and the Renaissance" and praises him for his extensive use of classical story—"a Renaissance thing" (p. 184)—for his fresh and joyous use of it, and for the sensuous quality in his poetry. Here we are told (pp. 192-93) that "Like Boccaccio, he was 'unburdened by asceticism'" and so forth, with no further hint that in "Renaissance" qualities the author of the *Teseida* may most have stimulated Chaucer's artistic development.

Despite a tendency to neglect medieval background this study succeeds in presenting Chaucer as a growing artist and a "living" personality. In writing "On Chaucer's Borrowings" Shelly emphasizes not the poet's "debts" but what Chaucer did to his sources and "his power of giving to matter borrowed from another a heightened beauty and intensity" (pp. 103-

104). In discussing "The Development of Chaucer's Art" he stresses the poet's originality and suggests (p. 41) that his triumphs "were the result of his native powers and temperament, of more or less consciously formed artistic perceptions and ideals, and of a constant searching and experimenting calculated to satisfy these". Here and in the chapters on particular works there gradually evolves a portrait of the artist and man. Shelly is generous in his quotations from Chaucer and in his citations from other critics; his discussion of Arnold's strictures is a well-handled defense of Chaucer. All told, this is a valuable and stimulating book, even for the specialist; but the specialist may sometimes wonder whether the general reader will not receive certain misconceptions along with the predominantly sound commentary and interpretation.

Queens College.

ROBERT A. PRATT.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age, with its Background in Mystical Methodology. By JOSEPH B. COLLINS. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 251. \$3.25.)

IF the Elizabethan Age has sometimes been regarded as contributing little to the literature of Christian mysticism, this book by Father Collins will leave little excuse for such an error, and yet *Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age* has not, perhaps, covered the whole field. It makes no pretense of having done so. As laymen we would not state our views too rashly, and yet it is only frankness to say that most true, sincere, aspiring Christianity had in it then, and still has in it, the essential elements of what is here described as Christian mysticism.

The English mystics studied are the sonneteers Barnabe Barnes, Henry Constable, and Henry Lok; a group of poets mystical in spirit and yet not in complete conformity with traditional Christian mysticism, Alexander Hume, Sir John Davies, Henry Walpole, Gervase Markham, Robert Parsons (not a poet), John Davies of Hereford, Thomas Lodge, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel and Surrey; and finally a group whose works show the "full methodology" of Christian mysticism, Robert Southwell, Nicholas Breton, and Edmund Spenser. Let it be said that the author is exactly right in his discriminations, that he is learned, careful, moderate, and perspicacious; but one nevertheless presumes to ask if there are not more.

Colet and More planted abundant seeds of Neoplatonic Christianity in England. Father Collins himself shows how full was the medieval tradition of the same thing. Did these seeds planted by Colet and More die in such numbers that only such relatively small traces can be found? Is it not rather possible that purification, enlightenment, and unification with God lived on as ideals in the intense religious feelings of common men and found voice in Puritan writers and preachers? This would be a different strain of Chris-

tian mysticism from that which came in through the influence of St. Catherine of Siena, Luis de Granada, and St. John of the Cross. Is it not likely that Puritan preachers and hymn writers have in them many mystical elements? The author is disposed to deny that there is any mysticism in Calvin. He is well able to pronounce judgment on this point, but, after all, the English Established Church was Calvinistic in its theology throughout the sixteenth century.

Father Collins's book is in two parts, the first called "The Method of Mysticism", the second, "Christian Mysticism in Native English Writers". He writes well and has a gift of clarity. He has, by the thoroughness and simplicity of his exposition of Christian mysticism, conferred a great debt on us all. The second part, in which alone the reviewer is able to find the least fault, is full of surprises and revelations; as, for example, when one perceives in Thomas Lodge and Sir John Davies the mystical point of view; Breton turns out to have been a full-fledged mystic; and Spenser not only comprehended Christian mysticism but gave to it the most beautiful poetic expression it achieved. The first book of the *Faerie Queene*, culminating in the great tenth canto, is enriched by Father Collins's investigations, and the *Four Hymns* are unified and made more intelligible by his treatment. It may be said, in general, that the author's discrimination between the vague Neoplatonism of the English Renaissance and the more formal features of Christian mysticism is of very great value in the elucidation of sixteenth century ideology.

Stanford University.

HARDIN CRAIG.

The Works of Gerrard Winstanley, with an Appendix of Documents relating to the Digger Movement. Edited with an Introduction by GEORGE H. SABINE, Professor of Philosophy in Cornell University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1941. Pp. 686. \$5.00.)

FASCINATING, quaint, and English as the weather is the tale of that handful of men who called themselves Diggers and who, under the intellectual and spiritual guidance of Gerrard Winstanley, on an April day in 1649 began to till the soil of St. George's Hill in Surrey without bothering to acquire title to it. This little group of men in their own time and later have inspired an interest out of all proportion to their numbers or importance. They have been adopted and claimed by single taxers, socialists, and communists. Mr. George H. Sabine now issues a reprint of Gerrard Winstanley's voluminous writings with an admirable introduction. He abstracts three of Winstanley's earliest tracts yet requires five hundred pages to reprint his remaining works. He adds some sixty-five additional pages of other tracts connected with the movement.

Mr. Sabine's introduction, in which he undertakes to fit Winstanley into the proper historical perspective of his day, is thoughtful and provocative of

thought. Winstanley was a native of Lancashire, probably born in 1609. He had been in the cloth trade in London and had gone bankrupt, apparently drawing from his experiences a disgust for competitive business and an enthusiasm for regulation as practiced by the London companies. He had been a Baptist, perhaps a lay preacher, and then had evolved out of even such loosely organized religion into the seeker and the mystic, enamored of human brotherhood. Adopting the Leveller idea that the Civil War was a crusade to which parliament had summoned the English people against "Norman tyranny"—not merely represented by the king but also by the vested interests of lawyers, priests, and lords of manors, he finally fell on the idea of the common right to unused land.

From this point his communist system evolved. Resting in theory on popular suffrage, it necessarily involved, as he saw, regulation of production and of exchange, penalties against idleness, even a controlled system of public information that would naturally have lent itself to the purposes of a propaganda bureau.

Mr. Sabine naturally contrasts Winstanley's ideology with that of John Lilburne and the political Levellers. It is true that in the earlier stages of their intellectual development they did not trammel the power of the parliament which, they hoped, would abolish the "Norman tyranny". But regarding it as potentially autocratic and oppressive, they demanded sharper and sharper restrictions on all governmental powers, building up constitutional sanctions to guard the natural liberty of the individual in matters of conscience and economic freedom. They became in the end essentially Jeffersonian Democrats and constitutionalists. Winstanley himself ended by devising a commonwealth which Joseph Stalin might well have accepted for the Soviets.

University of Illinois.

T. C. PEASE.

The Development of Religious Toleration in England: Attainment of the Theory and Accommodations in Thought and Institutions (1640-1660).

By W. K. JORDAN, Associate Professor of History in the University of Chicago. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. 499. \$5.00.)

THIS volume of Professor Jordan's monumental work, complementing Volume III, deals with lay thought and the attitude of Anglican and Roman Catholic groups toward toleration during the years 1640-60. A final chapter summarizes and analyzes his whole study of toleration from Elizabethan times to the Restoration.

The author's discussion of lay thought is, as it has been throughout his whole history of toleration, most sympathetic and informative. Indeed, in this field lies his great contribution to the history of ideas. His ability to escape the tyranny of the quotation mark and yet clearly to present the ideas of these seventeenth century thinkers in integrated, lucid exposition is best

seen in his study of Milton's prose and poetry, and the sections on Francis Osborne and Henry Robinson further indicate with what skill the author can present readable analyses of ideas.

The way in which the advocates of toleration have been classified, however, lacks the precision of the other volumes. Should not the thought of Peter Sterry, who was an Independent minister, have been discussed in the third volume? The Cambridge Platonists, quite obviously, should have been included in the Anglican group, for all of them, except two who died in the 1650's, conformed after the Restoration. Bishop George Rust, too, belongs with the Anglicans; while Daniel Featley, who sat in the Westminster Assembly, certainly was not an "Anglican extremist". Indeed, throughout his discussion of Anglicanism the author falls short of the high standard set by the other chapters in this volume. In the section on the Anglican extremists, where he rather intolerantly criticizes the Anglo-Catholics for failing to defend their policies, he overlooks the fact that the leaders had been arbitrarily imprisoned, along with many other clergy who dared to defend church and king: for if the bishops had chastised with whips, the Long Parliament chastised with scorpions. Furthermore, the fact that it was moderates such as Hall and Hammond who defended episcopacy is significant of the real strength of Anglicanism.

It must be questioned whether toleration had as strong a hold on English thought as Professor Jordan maintains. Even if it were true, as he declares, that the lay mind recognized the futility of persecution, it does not therefore follow that it was prepared to recognize the necessity of toleration. Very few liberal thinkers advocated complete liberty of conscience. Furthermore, after the Restoration it was parliament, not the convocations, which drew up the Clarendon Code; and when Professor Jordan tends to blame the bishops with their "vicious councils of revenge" for the harrying of Nonconformists, he overlooks the part played by the justices of the peace and the sheriffs. It is, indeed, doubtful whether the sects were after all more tolerant than the Anglican Church. There were individuals in all groups who advocated toleration, but not even the Baptists were prepared as a sect to favor liberty of conscience for all. The only group which definitely advocated toleration was the Society of Friends, which Professor Jordan has omitted, possibly because it made its contribution to the history of toleration in the Restoration period.

The author's thesis that the theory of toleration had been completely stated by 1660 is more than proven in this volume and the previous ones. All the arguments for it had been elaborated, all the arguments against it refuted. Carlyle, it will be recalled, in his introduction to Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches* lamented that scholars had made so little use of the sermons and pamphlets written in this period. Professor Jordan's masterly use of this material would have delighted Carlyle and have shown him that the his-

torian need not be a Dry-as-Dust, that from these pamphlets could be written an inspiring history of man's triumph over bigotry.

Providence, Rhode Island.

ETHYN WILLIAMS KIRBY.

Essays in Modern English History in Honor of Wilbur Cortez Abbott.

(Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 404. \$3.50.)

REVIEWING *Festschriften* is never a simple task, and the essays dedicated to Professor Abbott present more than the usual difficulties. The first essay is set, innocuously enough, in London; but the authors soon whisk the reader across the Atlantic to Nova Scotia, down the coast through Maine, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island to New York, then with a great bound to India to Madras, and back again through the English countryside to London. The essays span the two hundred years between the Puritan Revolution and the great Peel administration. Political, social, religious, military, maritime, colonial, and imperial history all find a place among the papers. There are in the volume formal chronological narratives, analytical discussions, studies of major social forces through examination of their impact in a limited arena, a social cross section of a frontier community, and an informal historiographic sketch. Some of the papers would hardly merit publication in a local archaeological journal, others are substantial studies, and a few are excellent. Three deserve special notice.

Robert Walcott has made an important contribution to the analysis of political groups in the Stuart and Hanoverian parliaments. In the old days historians started out with two handy gadgets called "Whig principles" and "Tory principles". It was easy, if one forebore minute scrutiny of available evidence, to attribute all major political events after 1680 to the conflict between these principles. The historians found even in the events of the half century preceding the Popish Plot a chain of political skirmishes between Roundhead proto-Whigs and Royalist proto-Tories. On closer examination, however, the explanation of more than a hundred years of political history in terms of the conflicting principles of two political parties developed symptoms of acute Ptolemaism. So that the explanation might fit the facts it was necessary to add series after series of apologetic epicycles to account for the curious deviations of many Whigs from Whig principles and many Tories from Tory principles. Of late, historians, renouncing "principle" for that ubiquitous eighteenth century political fact, the "interest", have partly remapped the early history of English parties. Mr. Walcott's work on the reign of William III breaks down the two quasi-mythical parties into a fluctuating aggregate of interests in which the shackle of gold and the tie of blood played as important a role as the bond of principle. "Court or Country?" was as pertinent a query as "Whig or Tory?" in William's day; the dour Dutchman himself was the most effective individual in English political life; and men still thought of parliament and politics in terms of

Charles I and John Hampden rather than in terms of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli.

The essays of Mr. Lower and Mr. Kirby both deal with laws enshrining special privileges doomed to destruction in nineteenth century England. Where Mr. Kirby ends his story of the game law reform, Mr. Lower takes up the tale of the attack on the timber duties. Their strikingly similar method Mr. Lower handles well, Mr. Kirby with consummate skill. In the annals of the nineteenth century the game laws do not loom large. Yet episodes insignificant in the history men make may be of first importance for the history men write. Subterranean forces, hard to discover in affairs of great moment, come to the surface with explosive violence in some trivial episode such as the divorce of Queen Caroline or the reform of the game laws. With almost surgical precision Mr. Kirby cuts clear the inner meaning of the fight over those game laws "that were the reward . . . which came" to the country gentleman "with the responsibilities of government". He tells us of pheasant and hare and fox, of spring gun and battue, of squire and poulterer and poacher; but in the background he lets us hear the whizz of the "silver bullet" of the urban middle class destroying both the game and the old game laws. We hear, too, the whine and clatter of the great mills making with steam and machinery the "silver bullet" that would shortly conquer the class that made the game laws, changing the face of England as it conquered.

The essays dedicated to Professor Abbott are random in subject and quality. Yet they are singularly appropriate to the man to whom they are inscribed. The first question that Professor Abbott asked the generations of young men who passed through his seminar was, "What do you want to do?" The student was not bullied or coaxed into working. If he wanted to sneak by, he could. He made his own mistakes, and in one case at least he made them by the dozens. He had to get over the hard and slippery places in scholarship on his own power; he was not pulled and hauled over. He was treated as a person, not as an object which might sooner or later bring credit to its fabricator. In time he found his own level. Consequently Professor Abbott has never had a group of disciples shining in the reflected glory of the master. There is no Abbott school of historians. Those who have worked with him stand on their own merit or fall by their own defects. Although there are no "Abbott men", a student who has worked with Professor Abbott is—bad, mediocre, or good—his own man. That should be enough.

Queens College.

J. H. HEXTER.

Robespierre and the Fourth Estate. By RALPH KORNGOLD. Introduction by CRANE BRINTON. (New York: Modern Age Books, 1941. Pp. xxii, 417. \$3.75.)

WE have here a biography by a gifted literary man, who has been many

things in life from insurance agent and hotel clerk to cowboy and truck farmer before settling down as a successful writer. This is not said to belittle him; no one whose books have been translated into so many languages could regard his achievements with other than pardonable pride. The academic background, however, is missing, both for better and for worse. The book is charmingly and vividly written and is based on considerable delving in the sources, though it seems absurd to include Plato merely because he is supposed to have influenced Rousseau, who in turn influenced Robespierre. Who influenced Plato? For that matter, the bibliography is poorly arranged, primary and secondary material jostling each other as each happens to come in the alphabet. But the author, who is a frank partisan of Robespierre, has given a lively and stirring narrative, which, as they say, reads like a novel. The only trouble is that it reads too much like a novel. It is to be equated with the works of Ludwig and Zweig rather than with those of Mathiez and the two volumes by Thompson, the best and most authoritative account with which I am familiar.

Mr. Korngold makes much legitimate use of conjecture. After all, every biography calls for sympathetic exercise of historical imagination. But he goes much too far in this. On the night of the 9th Thermidor, Robespierre wanted to go before the Revolutionary Tribunal, the author hazards. "He thought of Marat, paraded through the city on the shoulders of his friends, to the plaudits of the multitude, after his acquittal. He thought of him carried in triumph back to the Convention, of the fact that his indictment had proved but the prelude to the fall of his enemies" (p. 373). Maybe; it sounds plausible, but the old hypothesis of hesitation due to an over-scrupulous sense of legality is equally so. His inmost reflections earlier on the 9th Thermidor are equally clear to his biographer. "He must have thought of his encounters with the Gironde, of the day when Louvet had challenged him" (p. 361) is merely the first of a series of "must have thoughts". On the road to the guillotine "he remembered that it was he who had tried to stop the nation from going to war . . . and remembering this, he felt justified in his conscience and merely shrugged his shoulders" (p. 393). Robespierre may have thought of all this, or his reflections may have been entirely different; it is not given to us to know.

Again, Mr. Korngold shows his lack of professional training when he cites "the authority of Taine" to uphold a statement about the income of the peasantry (p. 42), oblivious of the fact that since Aulard's essay Taine's statistics are no longer considered trustworthy. The exploits of Théroigne de Méricourt on October 5 and Robespierre's supposed love of Danton are doubtful at least; Napoleon, according to Chuquet, was librarian and secretary, but never president, of a Jacobin club.

Yet there are some real contributions to history, such as the ingenious defense of the 22nd Prairial and the very reasonable theory that on the night of the 9th Thermidor the Commune was not frightened but overconfident.

The two main theses of the book are Robespierre's love of the people and his relative moderation. Of these there is small doubt, and, criticism aside, Mr. Korngold has done his share in establishing them.

Goucher College.

EUGENE N. CURTIS.

Italy in the Making, January 1st, 1848, to November 16th, 1848. By G. F.-H. and J. BERKELEY. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xxvii, 489. \$6.00.)

THIS is the third volume in a series in which the authors are presenting the most detailed history of the Risorgimento that has been written in English. It is much the most valuable of the three. On the small scale here adopted—eleven months to a volume—their tendency to schematize and simplify, criticized in previous reviews (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 749, XLII, 326) is less obtrusive and damaging, and the preoccupation of the authors with the task of getting things fairly and accurately stated produces excellent results. Their description of the campaign and battles in the north, written with the aid of military experts and a personal knowledge of the terrain, is, for the lay reader, the best I have seen. With the help of an important document hitherto unused they have also achieved a fine success in handling the critical and difficult question of the pope's allocution of April 29, 1848. Their treatment of Pius IX throughout is a masterpiece of careful study and sympathetic insight.

The authors had to deal with a vast welter of testimony produced in the heat of partisanship raised to fever pitch by the enthusiasms and anxieties of a crisis. This fever has not died out of the secondary works by Italians, on which the authors have had to rely in large part, seeking additions and corrections in the dispatches of foreign representatives in Italy who were eyewitnesses. The distinctive contribution of the book is its fairness to the points of view of all concerned, its reconciliation of mistaken oppositions in the light of history.

Even on such a small scale the authors have felt certain exclusions and repressions to be necessary. For Venice they refer the reader to Trevelyan's *Manin*, and for the relations of the Italian states with France and Great Britain, which they treat all too briefly, they might have referred him to A. J. P. Taylor's *The Italian Problem in European Diplomacy, 1847-1849*. The high lights are given to Pius IX and Charles Albert, with enough attention to Naples and Ferdinand II to correct the black legend about their role created by the exasperated patriotism of the rest of Italy.

Since so much reliance must be placed on secondary authorities in a work of this nature, critical notes on them in the bibliographies would be welcome to the lay reader.

Johns Hopkins University.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

Adolphe Crémieux: A Biography. By S. POSENER. Translated from the French by EUGENE GOLOB. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1940. Pp. x, 283. \$2.50.)

It is appropriate that the English translation of the biography of Adolphe Crémieux should appear at this turning point in the history of the French Republic. Crémieux was one of the leading parliamentarians of the Left in France, his life extending from the end of the first French Republic to the triumph of the Third Republic. As one contemporary said of him, he was a "Moses who has walked from Sinai to Sinai". A passionate defender at the bar of the cause of freedom of the press, member of the chamber of deputies under Louis Philippe, minister of justice in the revolutionary government of 1848, the center of the Left opposition under Napoleon III, and a leading member of the delegation to Tours in 1870, Crémieux represented the best of the radical revolutionary tradition in France. He was, however, also significant as a Jew. He was, as Posener calls him, "the most brilliant representative of the first generation of Jews born in France after their emancipation, the prototype and promoter of Jewish progress in France". As a Jew he worked for the abolition of the special *more judaico* required of Jews, prepared the plan for the organization of the Jewish community in France, took a leading part in the notorious Damascus affair of 1840, drafted the law for the naturalization of the Algerian Jews in 1871, and was one of the moving spirits in the organization of the famous Alliance israélite universelle.

The work under review is apparently an abridged version of the author's more detailed two-volume biography which was published in Paris in 1933-34. (It is unfortunate, from a scholarly point of view, that the published French text was not used for the English version.) Many factual details and quotations which help to make the figure of Crémieux stand out more vividly and which also help the reader to understand the political philosophy of Crémieux as well as his views on Jews and Judaism are here omitted. This accounts for the incongruity between the rather sketchy character of the English version and the very detailed and elaborate bibliography which is taken over completely from the French edition. From the standpoint of Crémieux's place in Jewish history it would have been very helpful had the author given us more material concerning the Jewish background of Crémieux. It would have given us a clearer understanding of how a French Jew, born in 1796, immediately following emancipation in France and at a time when Jews in the rest of Europe were still living under civil disabilities, could rise to such a high position in the political life of his country. Nevertheless, the book is a distinct contribution to Jewish history as well as to the history of France. In an address to the London Association for the Abolition of Negro Slavery in 1840 Crémieux declared: "Gentlemen, all the liberties are sisters, and all persecutions walk hand in hand. Persecute,

and you create slaves; proclaim equality for all and you create citizens" (p. 107). These ideals, the mainspring of Crémieux's political philosophy, are as meaningful today as when spoken in 1840.

Queens College.

KOPPEL S. PINSON.

Theodore Herzl: A Biography. By ALEX BEIN. Translated from the German by MAURICE SAMUEL. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1940. Pp. 545. \$3.00.)

BEIN made his mark, in scholarly writings published in German, as the biographer of the founder of the movement for a Jewish state in Palestine. This English edition is adapted for a wider reading public from a more detailed two-volume work (1934), and the bibliography lists a dozen articles on Herzl by the author written in the interim. Bein's distinctive contribution lies in his use of important archives and private papers in Jerusalem and in Europe, thereby filling in numerous lacunae in Herzl's career. The biographer's attitude toward his subject dangerously approaches an adoration such as scholarly writers of the present generation will rarely profess. Between the fall of Jerusalem, his epilogue asserts, and the emergence of Herzl "there was no Jewish history in the real sense of that word . . . it was only with and through Herzl that the Jewish people entered again as an active factor into world history" (p. 508). The reader who comes to this biography with some knowledge of medieval and modern history may wonder whether the learned biographers of other nationalist leaders would venture such opinions.

The account of Herzl's youth indicates that he was not indifferent to the Jewish question in that period. Before he developed a nationalistic, territorial program as a cure for anti-Semitism, the young writer considered socialism as the only feasible solution. His abandonment of this viewpoint following the Dreyfus affair was so complete that in his later interviews with Von Bülow and Wilhelm II his "favorite argument" was the thesis that Zionism would divert the Jews from the socialist movement, *i.e.*, from the Social Democratic party. Thus the change which Bein characterizes as Herzl's "awakening" may be more significantly described as his loss of faith in the future of democracy through socialism. In common with the Russian Zionists, Herzl assumed that the German and Russian empires were to endure indefinitely. Hence only an independent state could make the Jews "free men on their own soil". With a fascinating disregard of the type of machinations in which he became involved and yet with a courage and sincerity beyond reproach Herzl pursued that goal.

Quoting liberally from Herzl's diary while giving the gist of his public writings and addresses together with that of the polemics of his opponents, Bein witnesses the proceedings as an awe-stricken spectator. He knows his hero's foibles but never suspects their psychological implications; Herzl was subject to delusions of grandeur, and there are suggestions of a mother

fixation. No one can question the importance of the role played by Herzl, but a more detached future biographer may question his political acumen and insight, which seem to have ranked considerably below the level of his literary talent.

New York City.

JOSHUA STARR.

Great Britain under Protection. By FREDERIC BENHAM, Sir Ernest Cassel Reader in Commerce in the University of London. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, James T. Shotwell, Director; Commercial and Tariff History, Michael T. Florinsky, Editor.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1941. Pp. xvi, 271. \$2.50.)

THE abandonment of free trade and economic liberalism by Great Britain constitutes one of the outstanding events in the economic history of the last hundred years. In *Great Britain under Protection* Professor Benham performs a useful service for the lay reader in describing in broad outline this crucial development in world economic disintegration, the prelude to the second World War.

The scope of the study is indicated by the following chapter headings: "Great Britain under Free Trade", "The British Tariff", "Other Forms of Protection", "Imperial Preference", "Trade Agreements", "Monetary Policy", "Iron and Steel", "Agriculture", "Economic Recovery", and "Conclusions". Each of the chapters contains brief and somewhat sketchy historical material to provide background for the reader. The author's main objective, however, has been to describe the myriad of interventionist techniques adopted by the British government. In each instance the controls resorted to are evaluated from the standpoint of the economic area directly affected as well as the national economy. In this way the amazing growth of economic nationalism in Britain is impressively hammered home. The tragic story of Britain's blows to world trade in the form of agricultural protectionism, encouragement of industrial monopolies, depreciation and deliberate undervaluation of the pound sterling, trade-restricting imperial preference, the closed door in colonial areas, and other economic policies is interestingly told. The negotiations between the Federation of British Industries and the German Reichsgruppe Industrie in the spring of 1939, for a division of world markets and price agreements on competitive products, fit neatly into this elaborate system of interventionism.

In several places the author might have phrased his argument somewhat more accurately. For example, the statement appears on page 130 that Great Britain obtained most-favored-nation treatment in her trade agreements with foreign countries. This would be more accurately stated by writing that she obtained preferential treatment from such countries in the form of preferential exchange allotments, preferential quotas, trade-diverting purchase agreements, and unpublished discriminatory concessions of various

types. Professor Benham might also have pointed up more sharply the real significance to world economic stability of the five principal features of British economic nationalism: British sterling depreciation, the adoption of protectionism, reciprocal imperial preference, trade-diverting bilateral trade agreements, and discriminatory clearing and payments agreements.

Professor Benham has maintained a fine standard of objectivity in his study and has not hesitated to criticize Britain's prewar external economic policies. His value-judgments stem from the British body of economic thought elaborated and refined by Smith, Ricardo, Marshall, and others. In these days of widespread popularity of neomercantilistic doctrines even among professional economists, the reviewer finds this steadfast adherence to liberal international trade principles refreshing. Britain sought a national solution to a world problem and, in Professor Benham's and the reviewer's opinion, failed. The principal result was to intensify economic isolationism throughout the world. The other lesson to be derived from the British experience is that it is inaccurate to assume that a liberal world trading system will necessarily be supported by a victorious Britain, although, paradoxically, such a victory offers the only chance of a return to freer international trade and equality of economic treatment between nations.

Washington, D. C.

HENRY J. TASCA.

Czechoslovakia: Twenty Years of Independence. Edited by ROBERT J. KERNER, Professor of Modern European History, University of California. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1940. Pp. xxi, 504. \$5.00.)

THE position of Czechoslovakia in postwar Europe and the implications of her destruction at Munich and in March, 1939, were probably better understood in the United States than in any other country with the exception of Czechoslovakia herself. The appearance of this posthumous volume is a timely one. The liberation of the Czechs figures once again among the peace terms of Great Britain and her allies, and as Professor James T. Shotwell remarks in the final passage of the book, the great experiment of Czechoslovak independence would be lost to the world only if Europe itself were lost.

With two exceptions all the contributions were written by American scholars. The chief problem the editor confronted was how to bring into line twenty essays on subjects as varied as are the scholarly interests of their authors. In a collective work such as this some contributions are bound to be superior to others, and the unifying factor is to be sought in the subject matter itself. Of the two English writers Wickham Steed contributes a chapter on Hitlerism, and Gerald Druce one on the much-neglected topic of Czech contribution to science. Steed's article should appeal to those seeking some light on the circumstances under which the humanitarian world, as represented by Masaryk, gave way to the world heralded by Hitler. Each

of the two men was inspired by an entirely opposed set of ideas whose inner logic drove them into an open conflict. Professor Bernadotte Schmitt gives a concise analysis of the diplomatic struggle behind the Czechoslovak crisis. Although many details have to be left unsettled until authoritative documents are available, the accuracy of his assumptions is likely to pass the test. As to the soundness or unsoundness of the calculations which led to the acceptance by the Czechs of the Anglo-French plan, the fateful forerunner of the Munich dictate, opinions are bound to vary.

The independence of Czechoslovakia between the last two world wars was grounded deep in the historical past of her people. Professors S. Harrison Thomson and Robert J. Kerner divide between them the task of telling the story of the Czechoslovaks from the inception of their nationhood down to the Peace Conference. Both historians had the inestimable advantage of being able to draw on the original Czech sources. Herbert A. Miller brings out some little-known details concerning Masaryk's work in the United States in 1918. In searching the historical roots of Czech democracy Hans Kohn observes that the Czechs were the only people east of the Rhine whose sociological foundation was strengthened by a philosophy of democracy, based upon an interpretation of Czech history and pervading the whole of Czech education, thus becoming part of the mental and moral inheritance of the nation. The two chapters by Malbone W. Graham on the Czechoslovak constitution and politics contain a wealth of information of particular interest to the students of comparative government. The emphasis placed by the young republic on legality, uniform citizenship, social equalitarianism, and racial tolerance is well brought out. It is dealt with more specifically in Professor Joseph Roucek's treatment of the minority issue and also in Oscar Jászi's survey of the problem of sub-Carpathian Ruthenia.

On the economic side of the record, there are a chapter by Brackett Lewis on social legislation, one of the most advanced systems in postwar Europe, an account of the Czechoslovak economic position by Gerhard Schacher, and one by Lucy E. Textor on the all-important agrarian reforms. Within the limits of this review we cannot do more than enumerate the remaining chapters: "Humanitarian Progress", by H. A. Miller, "The Religious Situation", by Matthew Spinka, "Education in Democracy", by Francis H. Stuermer, "Czechoslovak Art", by Jaroslav E. Vojan, "Foreign Policy", by Felix John Vondracek, and "The Little and the Balkan Entente", by Harry Nicholson Howard. Professor Howard also adds a valuable chronology from 500 B.C. to the recognition by Great Britain of the exiled Czechoslovak government on July 21, 1940. The volume serves well the purpose of "an honest, unprejudiced, and frank appraisal of the important contribution which the Czechoslovak nation made to the history of our time in the two short decades of independence which fate bestowed upon it".

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

JOSEF HANČ.

War and Peace in Soviet Diplomacy. By T. A. TARACOUZIO. [Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. x, 354. \$4.00.)

IN these troubled times, when Western democracy finds itself in open conflict with aggressive totalitarianism, the thought-provoking and enlightening book by Mr. Taracouzio, librarian of the Slavic Collection of Harvard University Law Library, is particularly welcome since it reveals the true face of Bolshevism, the greatest challenge to Christian civilization.

In a careful analysis of both the theory and practice of the Bolsheviks, Mr. Taracouzio shows that their attitude toward war is that of Clausewitz, sanctioned by Lenin, that "war is a continuation of the same policies by using other, namely, forcible means", and subsequently endorsed by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928 (p. 27).

Skillfully and convincingly Mr. Taracouzio points out next that there are three and not two opposing ideologies in the world today—Christian democracy, racial totalitarianism, and Marxian universalism. He finds that to the non-totalitarian world, resting on the foundations of Christianity, recognizing the individual's natural rights, subscribing to a voluntary contractual bond between man and the state, and believing in common in the negation of war, "world peace is *Pax Gentium*—a political arrangement regulated by a benevolent compromise among the elements constituting the community of men and the family of nations" (p. 292).

While this concept is reminiscent of the ancient Greek efforts, the totalitarian peace is a modern version of the tranquility imposed upon the world by the legions of ancient Rome. To National Socialism "the ultimate world peace is *Pax Germanica*—a blood relationship regulated by the forcible submission of the non-Germanic elements of the community of men and the family of the non-Germanic races to the unilateral, uncompromising and autocratic will of the chosen race" (p. 293).

To the Marxists world peace is *Pax Communa*—a materialistic nirvana in which man will live in a community of the human species utterly oblivious of such notions as social or economic classes, nations or sovereign states, a sort of "communal twilight in perpetual motion and regulated neither from within by benevolent compromise among the different social strata composing human society, nor from without by the forcible control of one of these factions over the others" (p. 293).

Notwithstanding the high merit of the book Mr. Taracouzio, not being a historian, has permitted the creeping in of a few historical slips. On page 60 he speaks of Russia in April, 1917, as "the Russian Socialist Republic" although the status of Russia was not defined under the Provisional Government, which at that time was overwhelmingly antisocialist. On page 87 he claims that Archangel was taken by the Red Army "by the end of January, 1920". The actual date is February 21, 1920. On page 91 he ascribes the failure of the proposed Prinkipo conference to the influence of Winston

Churchill, whereas the proposal fell through because of the refusal of all Russian anti-Bolshevik governments to attend such a conference. On page 77, in discussing Lenin's attitude toward Allied military help in the spring of 1918, he states that it was motivated by "the Soviet desire to secure the assistance of Allied military experts in the organization of the Red Army". Had Mr. Taracouzio read this reviewer's study (*The Origins of American Intervention in North Russia, 1918*, Princeton, 1937), he would have learned that Lenin's real aim in accepting Allied help, as revealed in his famous article, "About Itching", was to play the Allies against Germany in order to maintain himself in power.

University of Maryland.

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY.

Night over Europe: The Diplomacy of Nemesis, 1939-1940. By FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government, Williams College. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1941. Pp. xv, 600, xix. \$3.50.)

DURING 1939-40 the Western democracies, led by barristers and businessmen, decadently ceased to play the game imposed upon them by an international life where ethics have no reality apart from national interest; whereas the totalitarian regimes, including Moscow, continued to play that game—unscrupulously, astutely, and therefore with a practical effectiveness that foreshadowed survival for them over against the inhibited and confused politicians of London, Paris, and Washington.

With unwavering loyalty to this theme Professor Schuman carries on in *Night over Europe* the work begun by him in *The Nazi Dictatorship and Europe on the Eve*. He appears to have studied the source material with admirable diligence. He has organized the complicated story well. He tells the story vividly, passionately at times, with a pleasant aptitude for drama and imagery. All aroused by the life-and-death issues of current world developments must thank him for the energy and courage with which he has struck a still white-hot iron.

The book, however, needs to be read with care. Unavoidably it lacks historical perspective, and the documentation is still incomplete though already voluminous and (the author insists) "within its limits complete". The corrective which the careful reader needs to keep more particularly before him, however, relates to Professor Schuman's own passionate convictions and the sharp chiaroscuro which they impart to his narrative.

According to his own statement in the preface, Professor Schuman has now got away from "a too-mechanistic economic determinism", but he still (it seems) youthfully perceives life in blacks and whites rather than in the more mature, philosophic scale of grays. The story bends to the interpretation. Balanced appraisal is absent; diatribe too frequent. Assumption and conjecture serve where the explicit record fails. For example, on page 63 it is written in support of a conviction that the Western statesmen were completely obsessed by the "Ukrainian dream": "On the principle that diplo-

mats, like neurotics, are often most concerned with the things they talk about least, it may not be without significance that Henderson's published dispatches and his memoirs make no mention of the Ukraine."

Professor Schuman hates the dictators but tends himself to intolerance and dictations. He is contemptuous of "checks-and-balances which spell paralysis"; he is for "government that governs". The devil is to be fought with fire. Schuman, one suspects, is not himself a dictator because he happens to be a college professor.

The book is less a piece of history than a tract of the times. It is a tract of high journalistic quality that can have, and no doubt is acquiring, public usefulness by dramatizing some aspects of reality for an American public still adolescent in its international appreciations. One wishes that Professor Schuman added to his brilliant qualities the somber corrective of that mature, balanced judgment which Americans above all need in their present critical pass.

Princeton, New Jersey.

DEWITT C. POOLE.

The Tragedy of Europe: A Day by Day Commentary on the Second World War. By FRANCIS NEILSON. (Appleton: C. C. Nelson Publishing Company. 1940. Pp. 680. \$10.00.)

Mr. Neilson's diary from September 1, 1939, to October 31, 1940, gives the reader no new information on the events of the last two years. The book's importance, if any, lies, therefore, in the reflections of the author on these events. From his Chicago friends, from radio commentators, and from the daily newspaper the author gathered his news and then proceeded to interpret it. The reflections are those of a disillusioned pacifist who sees nothing but the utter futility of war. They are those of a revisionist publicist (*How Diplomats make War, 1915*) who holds Churchill, France, and Russia responsible for the last war and who is eager to start a revisionist movement for the War of 1939. They seem to be those of a crusader who loves to utter unpopular opinions, but who leaves the reader with the feeling that he would argue with the same fervor on the other side if only it were unpopular.

How then does a disillusioned pacifist look upon the War of 1939? Generally speaking, the author blames the war upon diplomats and politicians living in an unrealistic world of their own. It is stated in all seriousness that "a business-minded consul could settle any of the affairs that have arisen in recent years in Europe, without even calling a policeman to his assistance" (p. 212). More specifically, the root of all the trouble is seen in the Treaty of Versailles, which appears so thoroughly bad to Mr. Neilson that he excuses revision by no matter what method. No space is "wasted" in looking for the immediate cause of the conflict in Berlin. The British, together with Colonel Beck and President Roosevelt, are held almost solely responsible. Hitler could not negotiate, for if he did "his position as *Führer*

would not have lasted a month" (p. 64). It is implied, of course, that the British should have realized this and yielded. Hitler might be a deliberate liar, "but what this has to do with the war puzzles me mightily" (p. 137). Moreover, Neville Chamberlain's father had "a record hard to beat even by Hitler" (p. 247). What this has to do with the war puzzles the reviewer mightily. But in case any reader of the diary might still be worried about the unreliability of Hitler, the author states that "it would be an easy task for a competent critic, without bias, to show clearly that it was the events taking place in localities which forced Hitler to change his mind" (p. 137). Poor Hitler, just a puppet pulled by the minorities!

As a pacifist the author yearns for peace at any price, but it is up to Great Britain, not Germany, to make it! The war lacks any purpose since England has become as totalitarian as Germany! Stalin is the great enemy, not Hitler. The latter has never threatened England. In fact "he has shown clearly in his book and in his speeches that he appreciates the importance of Great Britain in any scheme of reconstruction in Europe. Both His Holiness and Mussolini are well acquainted with this fact" (p. 553). Similarly naïve statements abound in the book.

The tragedy of Mr. Neilson is that with all his good intentions for a peaceful world he can see the case for only one side in the present conflict. The tragedy of Europe is not made any clearer by this attitude. It should be noted that the author has been recommended for his objectivity and praised as a prophet in the introduction by President Hutchins of the University of Chicago. See *Who's Who* for the unique preparation of the seventy-five-year-old author for objective (!) discussion of international affairs.

University of Nebraska.

R. A. WINNACKER.

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Hero in America: A Chronicle of Hero-Worship. By DIXON WECTER. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. Pp. viii, 530. \$3.50.)

CERTAIN patterns are beginning to emerge from the hazy background of American cultural history. One of them is illustrated by the growing number of studies made of the varying forms of expression of the ideas inherent in American democracy. This study of the "hero" has been made by a professor of English at the University of California, author of *The Saga of American Society* (1937).

The heroes are very significant figures in the history of American ideas because we not only enjoy their biographies but by using them as patterns of behavior we make them continuing influences in national life. The interest in American heroes became apparent shortly after the Revolution, and the volume and variety of writing about them have increased with each decade. Wecter analyzes this mass of literature in the form of history, but

his purpose is not essentially historical. He is taking the moral temperature of democracy at a time when it is under attack by ideologies which carry hero worship to the pitch of frenzy. He is trying to discover if Carlyle and the totalitarians are right in believing democracy cannot create heroes to lead it in crisis. He therefore not only examines certain of the great men who have been most celebrated, but he pays almost equal attention to minor heroes who likewise show the traits which Americans "agree to be good". The former include Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Lee, Grant, Bryan, T. Roosevelt, Wilson, and F. D. Roosevelt. Among the latter are Captain John Smith, the Pilgrims, the Revolutionary soldiers, Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, Johnny Appleseed, Buffalo Bill, Thomas A. Edison, Henry Ford, Charles A. Lindbergh, and the Unknown Soldier.

These major and minor heroes are discussed in their chronological order, and the discussions are fitted into the main outline of American social history. The rise of the reputations of the major heroes is carefully described. The author's purpose is chiefly to discover just what traits they were believed to possess which brought them such universal admiration. Whenever possible the author has examined their "fan mail" to gain further light on contemporary appraisal. The evolution of the biographical treatment of each is traced through the various stages of adulation, reaction, and "debunkery". In each case the main facts of the subject's life and character are related, particularly those about which there has been debate. Due attention is given to undercover hints of scandals. These analyses present the latest findings and are excellent summaries of the present state of historical judgment regarding these men. In the case of the minor heroes the evidence is of a more general and miscellaneous character, and here the analysis is devoted more to the understanding of types than of individuals.

The author displays a wide range of study and a voluminous knowledge. His search for the ephemeral has brought excellent results and has allowed him to incorporate a number of historical by-products. Particularly interesting are his discussions of the evolution of American biographical dictionaries, of the success literature which glorifies the businessman, and of the dime novel.

His conclusions are interesting; the American hero band excludes women, professional men, and those devoted to arts and letters. The military men and politicians who make up its largest group are not primarily admired because of their force, their power, their ability to command and dominate but because of their courage and their "self-respecting, decent, honorable sense of fair play".

The author further points out that hero worship in the United States has gone through a general evolution. For the most part there has been a rising curve of adulation and romantic glorification, but after the World War there was a slump, in which cynicism and debunking were the rule. But

now there is a new interest. Americans are once more taking inspiration from these heroes of good will, courage, and humble faith and look to them for inspiration for sacrifice. "Youth is still critical of war hysteria", he concludes. "But if sacrifice is needed for democratic liberty, youth will probably die just as certainly as it did a generation ago."

There is a great deal of illuminating history in this book, and its judgments are sound. In places it is somewhat bogged down with detail, and its organization and paragraph structure are not always of the happiest, but its temper is firm and often inspirational in restrained fashion. It is an excellent contribution to the cultural history of American democracy.

University of Pennsylvania.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

American Book Collectors and Collecting, from Colonial Times to the Present. By CARL L. CANNON. (New York: H. W. Wilson Company. 1941. Pp. xi, 391. \$3.00.)

THE author of this book has done well in assembling what information there is available on a very elusive subject: private book collectors and their books. He has found it wise to emphasize in some cases the collector himself and in others the subject, *i.e.*, the books he collected. This policy was perhaps dictated by the material available for study.

Mr. Cannon has wisely used as references that part of *The Book in America*, written by Miss Ruth Granniss, which relates to American book collectors, as well as George L. McKay's *American Book Auction Catalogues*. Likewise, he has sought the aid of many librarians and curators throughout the country in assembling special information of one kind and another, and to each of these persons he has conscientiously acknowledged his indebtedness. His list of acknowledgments, filling a page and a half of the introduction, is, in fact, a rather complete roster of those individuals who are at present concerned with the administration of rare book collections in America. It is a reassuring list of consultants and one which makes the reader confident that the author has made every effort to obtain his information from the best available sources, information which would be impossible for any one person to assemble without the co-operation of those familiar with the innumerable personal details surrounding the birth and development of every great library.

The first five chapters of the book deal with the best-known colonial book collectors: Thomas Prince, William Byrd II of Westover, James Logan, Thomas Jefferson, and Isaiah Thomas. Later chapters are devoted to John Carter Brown, James Lenox, George Brinley, and Hubert Howe Bancroft. Chapter x sketches more broadly a large group of collectors of Americana. Entire chapters are devoted to such subjects as incunabula, English literature, modern literature, Southern Americana, local history, the Far West, and William Shakespeare.

Readers acquainted with the book world and its history will find much to criticize in the emphasis, or lack of it, placed on certain personalities and particular fields of collecting. They will find conspicuous omissions among the names of great collectors and collections, but no thinking person will fail to recognize the fact that the author has brought together a mass of data which has never before been made available to the public in a single volume. The book will therefore serve admirably as an introduction to the history of an important branch of American culture.

What the author has actually given us is a sketch of that part of American book collecting which has been exploited either by the collectors themselves or by bibliographers and auction houses. What he could not possibly give us is a historical summary of the hundreds of private libraries gathered together without pomp and circumstance by collectors who neither wanted nor received notoriety for themselves and their collections. Yet this anonymous group might well constitute 50 per cent, or the other half, of the story, were the evidence not buried in voluntary obscurity.

William L. Clements Library.

LLOYD ARNOLD BROWN.

Histoire de la Louisiane française, 1673-1939. By ÉMILE LAUVRIÈRE, Visiting Professor and Doctor of Literature of the Louisiana State University. [Louisiana State University Romance Language Series.] (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. Pp. 445. \$3.00.)

WRITTEN by a French scholar who has already made some substantial contributions to the history of French Louisiana, this book gives a connected account of the subject that is in some respects very valuable. Its limitations, however, are important. In the first place, the dates in the title are misleading. About nineteen twentieths of the book deals with the period of the French domination in Louisiana down to 1767. For the long period from 1767 to 1939 there is only one chapter, which contains a perfunctory discussion of the Spanish domination in Louisiana and its transfer to the United States together with a twelve-page epilogue on the French element in Louisiana since 1803. In the second place, the author has apparently overlooked some important works in English and made no effort to cover the literature of his subject in Spanish. Among the former are William E. Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*; Charles W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico*, and J. F. Jameson's appendix to Volume II of this work; John W. Caughey, *Bernardo de Gálvez in Louisiana*; and Arthur Scott Aiton, "The Diplomacy of the Louisiana Cession", in this *Review*, XXXVI, 701-21. Finally, the book does not have an index.

This reviewer also read with some surprise the conclusion which the author drew from his study. "En somme", he writes in his preface (p. 8), "ce qui a surtout manqué à la Louisiane, c'est un grand chef vraiment

supérieur, dont la volonté clairvoyante aurait pu réaliser ce vaste empire colonial qu'avait rêvé La Salle". Beside this diagnosis we may place the fact that Louisiana prospered greatly under the rule of Spain (as the author himself states, p. 411) and still more after its acquisition by the United States; yet it would be difficult to discover any "grand chef vraiment supérieur" to whom this development could be attributed. This point is mentioned because it is typical of the author's failure to bring out adequately the connection between the development of Louisiana and the larger developments of the period elsewhere, such as the Atlantic migration, the westward movement in the United States, the commercial and industrial revolutions, and international wars and diplomacy.

As a contribution to the history of French colonial enterprise and to the local history of Louisiana to 1767, the book has important merits. In part it is a convenient summary of what the author had already written on certain problems (such as the problem of the Acadian refugees), but it also brings to light a great deal of information quarried from the archives in Paris. The latter also provided some of the many illustrations that enrich the volume. Despite the limitations mentioned above it is one of the most important works on the early history of Louisiana that have appeared in recent years.

University of Pennsylvania.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York. By FRANK J. KLINGBERG, Professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles. [Publication No. 11.] (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society. 1940. Pp. x, 295. \$3.00.)

IN this study Professor Klingberg has given us a fine example of monographic writing based upon long years of study and reflection. As the title indicates, he has covered one small segment of the social, religious, and intellectual history of the United States—a field which is expanding at the present time. For its unfolding more such studies will be welcomed. His work is based primarily upon the voluminous manuscripts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, supplemented by the printed sources commonly used for the history of colonial New York. It covers primarily the efforts of the society's missionaries, teachers, and rectors to civilize and Christianize the Indian and the Negro slave in New York. Three brilliant and influential S.P.G. anniversary sermons, delivered at the society's annual meeting at the parish church of St. Mary-Le-Bow in London, are reprinted and constitute the last half of the volume.

In the transit of ideas from Europe to America the S.P.G., the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the Bray Associates exerted great influence in the eighteenth century. Not only the Indian and the Negro but also the white settler felt their beneficent influence in the enrich-

ment of colonial life through the establishment and support of libraries, schools, and churches. In his annual sermon in 1741 Archbishop Seeker pointed out that colonists "agreeing on the same Faith and Worship with us" would not be likely to revolt, and he listed 100 churches aided, 70 missionaries sent out, and 10,000 Bibles and Common Prayer Books and 100,000 tracts distributed. In promoting their idealism the supporters of the movement did not fail as realists to indicate the value of their program to Britain's empire builders, and they tried to harmonize Christian idealism, the profits of trade, and imperial interests. The Indian was to be transformed, not only into a Christian but into a "Warlike Christian Man", ready to fight against the French. To this end missionaries labored on distant, isolated frontiers, much as the Oblate Fathers do today, though more conscious of empire building. Similarly, for the Negro slave the society recommended "an honest, humane, & Friendly Treatment of these poor people, our ignorant & pitiable fellow Creatures" in Christ, and indicated that such treatment would establish mutual trust between master and slave and increase labor efficiency.

Well might the slaveholder look askance upon a program which recognized that his slave had a human soul to be saved, for from conversion flowed emancipation. The far-reaching judicial decisions in England against slavery and its final abolition in 1833 represent in part the fruition of the quiet work which the S.P.G. carried on year after year in spite of great discouragements. Similarly, the westward movement of British empire builders in Canada from Quebec to Vancouver without the numerous bloody Indian wars which accompanied the westward movement in the United States attests to the influence of an imperial Indian policy which felt the ameliorating hand of the S.P.G. In 1845, when the antislavery forces in the United States were gathering strength, the society reprinted the annual sermon of Bishop Warburton found in this volume; it was a fiery argument against the slave trade and declared that the stealing of Negroes by the whites to be sacrificed "to their great Idol, the God of Gain", was a crime.

As Professor Klingberg suggests, it has been easy to overlook the quiet influence of the Episcopal Church of England while following the story of the Pilgrims or that of Wesley and Whitfield. In writing the history of the British Empire in the eighteenth century it has likewise been easier to give statistics from the board of trade and plantations or to quote articles from navigation laws than to follow the elusive influence of ideas as they made the transit from Europe to America.

The volume is well printed save for the atrocious use of italics for every word in the footnotes. Though this made the work of the typesetter easy, it punishes the reader.

Ohio University.

A. T. VOLWILER.

Robert Dinwiddie: His Career in American Colonial Government and Westward Expansion. By LOUIS KNOTT KOONTZ, Associate Professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles. [Old Northwest Historical Series.] (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1941. Pp. 429. \$6.00.)

ROBERT Dinwiddie was one of the officers of the British colonies in America whose lives illuminate the problems of imperial administration in the eighteenth century. A Scotchman trained in business, his career in the colonial service falls into three logical divisions: the period (1721-38) when he was collector of the customs and then comptroller of admiralty rights in Bermuda, the time (1738-49) when he served as surveyor general of His Majesty's customs for the Southern District, with residence in Virginia, and the seven years (1751-58) during which he served as lieutenant governor for that colony. Professor Koontz, who tells us (p. 21) that Dinwiddie has "too often been misquoted and therefore misunderstood, misinterpreted, and maligned", seeks in this apologia to justify him before the world and place him in proper historical perspective. The result is not altogether unworthy of the task; but it still leaves much to be desired.

To begin with, Mr. Koontz apparently fell into that most grievous of biographers' errors: he tried to please the public and, in doing so, allowed himself at once to overlook all Dinwiddie's faults and to magnify his virtues to a superlative—and therefore unbelievable—degree. But the book is also full of errors of fact, some of which are important, and there are a good many points at which the author's interpretation of the facts does not seem to be borne out by the facts themselves. The Peace of Utrecht was not "clearly understood to be a truce" (p. 25) but just the contrary. Dinwiddie was not the first (p. 27) colonial governor to act against the French: Cornwallis, in Nova Scotia, anticipated him by several years. One seriously doubts whether it can be said that "unquestionably, the wealth, elegance, and culture of the Virginia society of that day was unequalled by any other American colony" (p. 127). And so on.

The section of the book devoted to Dinwiddie's career in Bermuda is too sketchy to be of any use. The author explains that the information for these years is only fragmentary, but the reviewer cannot escape the conviction that Mr. Koontz has not used even the materials that are easily available. A quick glance, for example, at the indexes in the volumes of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies*, which appears neither in Mr. Koontz's footnotes nor in his bibliography, shows numerous mentions of Dinwiddie, Bermuda, and the people with whom Dinwiddie came into contact during this period. Mr. Koontz has overlooked both some very pertinent material dealing with Dinwiddie's early career and a golden opportunity to shed some light upon the functioning of the British customs system in America as it is to be observed in the activities of the customs

collector in Bermuda. Much the same criticism might be made of the section dealing with the period of Dinwiddie's life during which he was surveyor general.

When Mr. Koontz comes to Dinwiddie's career as lieutenant governor of Virginia, he is on more familiar ground. Yet the chapters entitled "Patron of Learning" and "Life and Labor in Old Williamsburg" leave much to be desired. Mr. Koontz also falls into the error of considering the problem of the Ohio Valley as though it were a quarrel between Virginia and France, without seeming to realize that England and France began skirmishing over their American territories in 1749 and that acts of violence such as the burning of Beaubassin or attacks upon British ships at the island of St. Lucia in the West Indies took place almost continuously, upon an ascending scale of violence, from that year to the year of Braddock's defeat. At the same time, especially in 1750, 1751, and 1755, England and France were making genuine efforts to settle their world-wide disputes by the peaceful means of diplomacy. Dinwiddie's position in Virginia was important, to be sure, but it must be seen against the larger panorama to be understood in its proper perspective.

The bibliographical materials cited by Mr. Koontz, while excellent in themselves, do not seem to be sufficiently inclusive. One wonders whether he has seen all the board of trade papers that are available either in the Library of Congress or in England, and one suspects that there may be other series of documents in the Archives nationales, Ministère des colonies that would have helped to complete the picture. The absence of the *Calendar of State Papers* from the list of printed materials has already been noted; one might expect Leo F. Stock's *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America* to have contributed somewhat to the story of the early period.

The biographer of a figure like Dinwiddie is confronted with a peculiarly difficult task, since he must know in great detail the history that provides the backdrop for his hero's career and must have a feeling for the time and the society of which he was a part. But, most of all, the biographer must be able to present a true picture of the personality and the character of the man of whom he writes. Mr. Koontz has made an effort to fulfill all these conditions in presenting one of the most important of the colonial governors.

Stanford University.

MAX SAVELLE.

Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783. By PHILIP DAVIDSON. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 460. \$4.00.)

WRITERS and readers of an older generation would doubtless have called this book a study in controversial politics. They did not have to be told that this type of writing was designed to shape opinion and so to bring about

a certain type of action; they knew it. They took their propaganda so much as a matter of course that they did not bother to study it. As for the propagandists themselves, Samuel Adams, for example, they knew that they were playing upon prejudice, hates, hopes, and fears, and they also knew that there was often a wide gap between their assertions and the facts of the case. So too did the readers.

The present generation is different. It goes in for the study of technique, and it arranges its material in elaborate categories. In accordance with this current approach, Professor Davidson begins with a definition of propaganda, which he takes from Doob, *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique*. This definition is so broad that Professor Davidson finds little but propaganda in the contemporary writings of the Revolution: "much of what we know of the Revolution has been learned from revolutionary propaganda".

There is of course nothing new in a presentation of radical and conservative arguments of the Revolutionary leaders. As far back as 1897 Moses Coit Tyler made much of this material available. But in presenting his *Literary History of the American Revolution* Tyler was interested in content, not technique. He did not arrange the material in categories approved by those who apply the scientific method to the study of public opinion. Professor Davidson, on the other hand, has classified the revolutionary writings in accordance with the modern vogue. At the same time he provides a detailed description of the "vehicles" or "media" used by the propagandists. The result is an arrangement of material which is primarily topical, although within the topics some individual items are arranged chronologically. For the student of methods of propaganda Professor Davidson's arrangement is excellent. But for the historian who likes to follow the events and to trace their relationship in cause and effect, the arrangement is a bit confusing.

Although the major arguments and appeals which are described in this book are familiar to every student of the Revolution, this is not the case with the illustrative quotations. These have been brought together from a variety of sources. In addition to the newspapers, Professor Davidson has analyzed sermons, songs, plays, and speeches. His quotations are so numerous that the book is almost a collection of source material. In finding space for so much new illustrative material the author had to omit some of the better-known pieces of propaganda.

When judged by its results—and there is no other criterion for evaluating propaganda—the propagandists of the Revolution were remarkably successful. In fact, according to Professor Davidson they really brought about the Revolution: "Without their work independence would not have been declared in 1776 nor recognized in 1783." According to the author the reason for this success was clear: "The propagandists thus gave expression to

ideals that had been germinating for years." The course of development in America had made the people, or enough of them to count, predisposed to accept the doctrines of the radical and patriot propagandists and to reject those of the conservatives and loyalists. It would follow that the most successful propaganda is that which voices the underlying convictions or hopes of an appreciable part of the population.

In a work of this size, including so many quotations and so much diverse material, it would be easy for errors in fact or interpretation to slip past the author; it is a high tribute to Professor Davidson's accuracy and care to say that slips are surprisingly few in number. Probably most readers would take exception to the implication, page 32, that some of the British legislation after 1763 was "designed" to make American taxpayers "pay part of the staggering British debt". Again, the list of the Townshend Acts, page 41, should make at least a mention of the new American board of customs commissioners. Also, in view of the subject of the book, readers will question the author's statement on page 66 that opponents of the Stamp Act went to work "almost spontaneously". By this time all of us are so completely propaganda conscious that we cannot believe that groups of men have ever acted spontaneously in any political effort. Certainly the opponents of the Stamp Act left nothing to spontaneity or to chance.

Syracuse University.

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW.

Washington and the Revolution, a Reappraisal: Gates, Conway, and the Continental Congress. By BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xvi, 269. \$3.00.)

EVEN if one cannot agree with Mr. Knollenberg at all points, he has performed a useful service in this reappraisal of Washington's role in the American Revolution. First of all he is to be commended for the scope and plan of the book. He has not attempted to write a life of Washington or to reappraise the man in all the phases of his career. Mr. Knollenberg has stuck strictly to his subject, Washington's actions in the Revolutionary War, and has confined himself to an examination of those controversial points that are pertinent to a reappraisal of his military character. This makes the book, in a sense, a historian's book, for it deals with many incidents and problems without a connecting narrative. But the general narrative of the war is so well known that a slight sense of discontinuity is more than compensated for by the saving of the reader's time.

Adequate appraisal of Washington has been one of the least well-performed tasks of American historians. Particularly is this true with respect to Washington's career as military leader during the Revolution. Plenty of writers have sought to debunk Washington, but their efforts have been more spectacular than convincing. Nearly all the more reputable historians have, in spite of original intentions, fallen into line with the familiar picture of Washington as the nearly irreproachable giant, a man much

sinned against but seldom sinning, a hero with a loftiness of nature almost unparalleled.

Mr. Knollenberg undertakes to correct this impression without attempting any general deflation of Washington's reputation. He points out that Washington was often excessively sensitive and prone to see wicked opposition in what was but a reasonable difference of opinion. He tilts particularly at the general tendency to exalt the virtues of Washington by painting a very black picture of those with whom he had to deal, such as Gates or the Congress. We have heard so much, believes Mr. Knollenberg, about Washington's heroic struggle to make up for the deficiencies of these gentlemen that we forget that they too had difficulties. For the Congress, in particular, Mr. Knollenberg makes an effective plea. The deficiencies of which Washington complained were real enough, but both he and the historians have made insufficient allowance for the difficulties facing the Congress. A revolutionary body, endeavoring to exert its authority over a very divided population, suffering from all the difficulties of improvisation, able to offer but uncertain rewards in case of success and faced with certain punishment in case of failure, the Congress was bound to develop many shortcomings. Mr. Knollenberg evidently believes, and probably with reason, that what it actually achieved in the face of such formidable obstacles was no less remarkable than the work of Washington and that we have done the members of the Congress, both singly and collectively, a great injustice to view them as frequently as we have as impediments to the work of their commander in chief.

In his laudable desire to do justice to those who have hitherto been damned to the greater glory of Washington, it is not surprising to find that Mr. Knollenberg occasionally seems to forget Washington's real merits. He scarcely emphasizes sufficiently the importance of that capacity for *riposte* which, at dark moments such as Trenton, probably saved the Revolution when all seemed lost. In pointing out the technical faults of Washington's actions at Germantown he fails to appreciate the importance of the demonstration that the American army could make a formidable attack so soon after the disaster of the Brandywine. There are other places as well in which even those who agree in substance with Mr. Knollenberg's thesis will think he has pushed it a little too far.

But perhaps the author would not quarrel with this criticism, for he appears to feel that it is his function to bring out the too often neglected side of the case rather than to arrive at a definitive judgment of these controversial questions. Even if many historians will not feel convinced that he has rehabilitated Gates or exorcised the Conway Cabal, they will, nevertheless, give him credit for one of the most sensible as well as provocative criticisms of Washington that has appeared in recent times.

Swarthmore College.

TROYER S. ANDERSON.

Maryland during the American Revolution. By ESTHER MOHR DOLE, Professor of History, Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland. (Baltimore: Waverly Press. 1941. Pp. xi, 294. \$2.50.)

PROFESSOR Dole's book outlines the preliminaries and processes of the Revolution with respect to Maryland. It is not, properly speaking, a history of Maryland during the Revolution. To be just that it would have to focus the main themes of Maryland's eighteenth century development—the leadership of upper-class landowners and lawyers; the disintegration of proprietary institutions and the emergence of republican ones; the shifting balance between the tobacco-staple of the lower Chesapeake area and the diversified economy of inner Maryland; the increase of town life; and the balance between nationalism and Maryland particularism. Some of these themes do receive incidental treatment, but the frame of the work is derived from the familiar political and military history of the national War of Independence. Key chapter titles will indicate the focus: "The First Phase of the War—1775-1778", "The Second Phase of the War—1778-1783", "Maryland and the Navy". Thus we are told where Maryland soldiers served during the campaigns, Northern and Southern, and with what gallantry; yet we learn almost nothing about the state history of enlistment, war appropriation, and propaganda. Even the second chapter, "Maryland's Grievances against Great Britain", is hardly conceived of in terms of local tensions and struggles; Maryland's reactions to the imperial crises from 1763 to 1775 are illustrated in terms of local incident, but they are not explained in terms of the conditions of the province. Neither in this chapter nor in the chapter on "Loyalists in Maryland" is there discussion of the antiproprietary movement. Yet this movement was the growing point of prerevolutionary discontent, and the divisions it established largely influenced the later divisions between patriots and loyalists.

The author makes some claims to scholarship—to having made original investigation and to offering a contribution to history (p. xi). They have scanty basis. As to background, the footnotes reveal a large dependence on Lecky and on Van Tyne's *American Revolution* (not his more recent works); there is nothing to indicate any extensive use of the scholarship of the last generation—as a typical example, Schlesinger's *Colonial Merchants* fails to appear in either footnotes or bibliography, and any proper awareness of the merchants' movement fails to appear in the text. The Maryland newspapers have indeed been drawn on for illustration; but the state archives, even the printed ones, have been little studied. There is more minor error than there should be; perhaps the most striking case is the statement in the bibliography (p. 258) that "Before 1773 the only newspaper in the South was the one published at Annapolis."

The Revolutionary history of Maryland still awaits the writing.

Stanford University.

CHARLES A. BARKER.

Montesquieu in America, 1760-1801. By PAUL MERRILL SPURLIN, Department of Romance Languages, Louisiana State University. [Romance Languages Series.] (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 302. \$3.00.)

"THE present study is one of literary history", and "literary history" as here used and applied means a study of the dissemination of Montesquieu's writings in America between 1760 and 1801. The author has searched the books and newspapers of that period for evidence to indicate how widespread was an acquaintance with the *Spirit of the Laws* as well as with some of the less well-known books. The resulting study indicates that Montesquieu was frequently given as an authority on a variety of subjects, among them virtue in a republic, education, marriage, taxation, and commerce. But his great importance, and the basic justification for studying the impact of his writings here, is in connection with the famous chapter in Book XI of the *Spirit of the Laws* wherein he considers the constitution of England and praises it for its inclusion of a separation between the three departments of government.

In his introduction the author quotes from some dozens of recent writers to indicate how wide has been the divergence of opinion concerning Montesquieu's influence upon the work of the Founding Fathers. His book will do little if anything to settle that controversy. It does show how widely Montesquieu was read or, at least, how frequently he was referred to and in what great esteem he was held. Whether anyone who has read a fair share of the political writings of the four decades under consideration ever doubted that Montesquieu was extolled by most of the orators and writers of that era I do not know, but I should have supposed that the fact was so evident that it did not require a book of this length to make it apparent. Mr. Spurlin announces in his conclusion that "no attempt has been made in this book to study the influence of Montesquieu on American institutions". Indeed, his ambitions were even more limited than his statement might seem to indicate, for he attempted to analyze neither the ideas of Montesquieu nor those of the Americans who appealed to his authority. The period is the one in which the major literature of America was political, even as Montesquieu's principal works were political. "Literary history" which is concerned only with the frequency of citations leaves out of consideration almost all of the difficult and, I think, interesting problems. Why, for example, did the separation principle appeal to most liberals as well as to almost, but not quite all, conservatives? Was Hamilton converted to the principle between the time of his speech of June 18 in the Convention and his, if they were his, discussions of the subject in the *Federalist*? Why did the principle of separation appeal to Jefferson but not to Franklin or Paine? Clearly the Americans altered fundamentally Montesquieu's conception of the proper form of government when they designed their own system, for

he was talking of a separation between the estates of the realm, a class structure. Were they aware of this? If so, why did they admire, or seem to admire, Montesquieu's statement of the theory? How does the American principle of judicial review fit into Montesquieu's theory? These are but some of the questions with which a thorough study of Montesquieu in America must be concerned. No such study has been written, and, it is only fair to repeat, Mr. Spurlin has not attempted to fill the gap.

Harvard University.

BENJAMIN F. WRIGHT.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Volume VII, *The Territory of Indiana, 1800-1810*. Volume VIII, *The Territory of Indiana, 1810-1816*. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1939. Pp. xi, 784; v, 496. \$2.00; \$1.50.)

THE papers in these volumes cover the entire history of Indiana Territory as such. Organized in 1800, when the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio was for the first time divided, the Indiana Territory passed out of existence in 1816, when what was left of its once far-reaching domain was admitted to the Union as a state.

The policy followed in preparing the preceding volumes of the series has been observed with these in that, by and large, preference has been given to documents related to the administration of the public lands, the post offices, and other agencies of the Federal government, such as the territorial governor, secretary and courts, and the Indian agencies and factories. Indian affairs, as previously, are included only insofar as they happen to be of some particular significance to the territory.

From several classes of material, only a few selected papers have been printed. This was done not only because of the seeming pointlessness of burdening the volumes with similar and therefore unnecessary illustrations of certain features of territorial life but also because of the need for economy in publishing the series. The need for economizing has also been responsible for the reduction to an irreducible minimum of miscellaneous information in the footnotes and for the elimination altogether of the cross references in the notes. The latter should not be missed too much, since the index continues to serve the same purpose. Papers published elsewhere have been more rigorously excluded from these volumes than from the preceding ones, only a dozen out of the roughly 1,100 papers in the present work having been printed heretofore, according to the editor. The outstanding omissions are the messages of the governors, the laws, and the principal miscellaneous records and papers of the territorial government, most of which have already been extensively published in the *Indiana Historical Collections*.

Despite the clear evidence of the exclusion of what must have been a really tremendous mass of material, the two volumes furnish an interesting and revealing record of the Federal administration of the territory. As in

the earlier volumes, there is a disappointing scarcity of material dealing with social and economic conditions, but here and there, particularly in memorials and petitions, glimpses may be caught of the commonplace but profoundly important problems of frontier life. For instance, very illuminating side lights on economic conditions in the territory are to be found in the petition to Congress, October 1, 1805, requesting additional time for installment payments on land (VII, 307-309). Another petition, this one from a large number of squatters, is an inimitable example of the "free spelling" of the frontiersmen as well as a striking illustration of their capacity to organize for the achievement of a common purpose (VIII, 368-69). Still another petition to Congress for the grant of a favor in connection with the public lands brings out nicely the importance of local gristmills and sawmills to the growing frontier communities (VIII, 258-59). Interesting, also, considering that it was written as far back as 1801, is the letter from Secretary of War Henry Dearborn to William Lyman, an Indian agent, on the subject of endeavoring to civilize the Indians and thereby solve the Indian problem by instructing them in agriculture and the useful arts (VII, 26-27).

The following two criticisms are admittedly the veriest trifles which, of course, in no way reduce the reviewer's deep and unreserved admiration for the editorial excellence of the volumes, the skill and thoroughness of the labor of compilation, and the eminently sound judgment used in the selection of materials to print. The first one should, no doubt, be regarded as a possible error of omission if it is an error at all. It does seem regrettable, though, that in a footnote several pages long on the intricate question of when William Henry Harrison's term and pay as governor began, space could not have been found to say how much his salary was. The average person would probably like to know the amount without having to look further, and apparently it is not given anywhere in the volume. The second criticism is of a slight error in the index of Volume VIII, the detection of which was the accidental result of the reviewer's extraordinary, but perhaps understandable, interest in the name Samuel McKee. The index lists the name just once, with several entries after it, as if all the items referred to a single man; whereas actually these entries are related to three Samuel McKee's, one of them a junior.

Columbia University.

SAMUEL MCKEE, JR.

Colonel James Neilson: A Business Man of the Early Machine Age in New Jersey, 1784-1862. By ROBERT T. THOMPSON. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1940. Pp. xiii, 359. \$3.75.)

THIS study has been drawn chiefly from the voluminous collection of Neilson family manuscripts in the library of Rutgers University. Letters, diaries, minute books, ledgers, bills, deeds, and other source materials contributed to the book. The author chose not to select for consideration any

particular aspects of his subject's life nor to generalize or interpret broadly but to write of Neilson as the records revealed him. This he has done effectively and with insight. The result is a scholarly and detailed exposition of the man and his work that is both interesting and convincing.

The biography is especially valuable as a case study in the history of American business in the process of transition from mercantile to industrial capitalism. Neilson entered his father's foreign mercantile enterprise while the foreign merchant was still the dominant figure in American business; but he gradually shifted his interest to the new specialized enterprise, and in 1825 he withdrew from trade altogether. As early as 1807 he became interested in banking; he was active in early turnpike, stage, and steamboat concerns; he helped to establish a fire-insurance company; he was a leader in his community in the development of water power and manufacturing; he devoted many years to promoting the Delaware and Raritan Canal; and he was heavily involved in real estate (mostly inherited) in Texas, Mississippi, upper New York State, and New York City. Neilson's role in these fields was to promote, to invest, and to determine the policies of enterprises rather than to manage any particular business. He epitomizes that imaginative, restless, and driving spirit of American business that was an important factor in American growth from 1815 to 1860.

The book shows something of the influence of this businessman on the social and cultural life of his community. James Neilson was himself never in politics, though he had much to do with politicians. As a gentleman farmer he helped to introduce better methods into agriculture in New Jersey. He gave very generously toward establishing religious and educational institutions in his home city and state. Indeed, Dr. Thompson has drawn a revealing picture of a community leader, a type of leadership that has clearly not been adequately recognized in the study of American history.

Harvard University.

HENRIETTA M. LARSON.

The Sentimental Novel in America, 1789-1860. By HERBERT ROSS BROWN. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 407. \$3.00.)

GEORGE Washington was praised for his acute sensibility, Mr. Brown tells us, and was acting wholly in character when in 1792 he shed distinguished tears at a performance of *The Maid of the Mill*. Thomas Jefferson, on the other hand, condemned the sensibility which long pervaded fiction and gave many an American, in Jefferson's own words, "a bloated imagination, sickly judgment, and a disgust toward the real business of life". Divided likewise were the opinions of American readers from 1789, when the first native novel appeared, to 1860, the date at which this study of easy emotionalism concludes. But Mr. Brown's own attitude toward sentimentalism is wholly, if the word may be used in such a connection, Jeffersonian.

Admitting that these novels could occasionally be true to life and that they often sprang from excellent impulses, he insists that they were, nevertheless, the fruits of a disease which he describes as "the excess of virtue, the perversion of an ideal". For this "sentimental compromise" he has no respect.

The monograph is divided into two sections: "The Beginnings: 1789-1820" and "The Sentimental Years: 1820-1860". The first presents more new material than does the second, for sensibility in early American letters was almost an unexplored field as recently as 1927, when the present reviewer published an article outlining the progress of sensibility in the novel to 1800. As studies of the influence of Sterne and Richardson in America and of parallel developments in early periodicals and in the early drama have since been undertaken, we shall soon have a complete chronicle of the literary tears of Columbia. Mr. Brown's first chapter is a useful account of the fashion in which the novel finally overcame many of the prejudices which long kept it in disrepute. Then follow chapters on the sentimentalism of Richardson, the sensibility of Sterne, and the vogue of fictitious seduction and of epistolary pietism. Unfortunately, these early novelists possessed no genius and so little ingenuity that even Mr. Brown's lively wit cannot conceal the fact that their stereotypes of sex and sensibility are repetitious and monotonous.

The topics discussed in Section II are more sharply defined and more diversified: such isms as animal magnetism, telepathy, and utopianism; the temperance movement; slavery; domestic life; and religion. Here is a rich storehouse of facts, quotations, and criticism for the student both of history and of literature. Typical are a long series of comments from Fenimore Cooper's novels touching on Unitarianism, sectarianism, skepticism, predestination, the liturgy, divorce, and temperance; and a handful of sharp comments from lesser novelists on Channing, Parker, and Emerson. "They mock earnest, inquiring minds", if we may believe Augusta Evans's *Beulah*, "with their refined, infinitesimal, homeopathic 'developments' of diety. . . . Metaphysical wolves in Socratic cloaks! Oh, they have much to answer for! 'Spring of Philosophy!' ha! ha! they have made a frog-pond of it. . . . Emerson's atheistic fatalism is enough to unhinge human reason."

Recognizing that such novels have small significance when judged by absolute standards, Mr. Brown is content to trace their origins in older literary genres and then wisely to confine himself to their human values. His investigations have been so extensive and his findings are so fully documented that his volume may properly be termed learned, and yet his sense of the comic is so pervasive that he entirely escapes pedantry.

University of Minnesota.

TREMAINE McDOWELL.

Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Modest Man. By EDWARD MATHER. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1940. Pp. viii, 356. \$3.50.)

Hawthorne as Editor: Selections from his Writings in the American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge. By ARLIN TURNER. [Louisiana State University Studies.] (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1941. Pp. vii, 290. \$2.75.)

Mr. Mather has "treated the biography of Hawthorne as that of a man rather than that of an author, as that of a man with a peculiar personal history, a history which constitutes a study in human behavior". This modest approach to "a modest man" is interesting rather than useful. Hawthorne had, to be sure, a peculiar personal history; its peculiarity has been probed and diagnosed by many scholars. But the justification for such probing is that the recluse of Salem, the plow-boy of Brook Farm, the consul at Liverpool, was, after all, a man of letters. We can understand his literary contributions better if we understand the personal background, but the focal point is literary rather than personal.

Mr. Mather, to be sure, does not ignore Hawthorne's books, but his literary criticism is superficial and almost incidental. There is no thorough analysis of the sources, no illuminating criticism of style, no evaluation of philosophy. Nor is Mr. Mather happy in presenting the social and intellectual background of Hawthorne's career. For though he knows a good deal about Hawthorne, he knows very little about the society in which Hawthorne lived or the intellectual currents which eddied about him.

So great, indeed, is Mr. Mather's indifference to the milieu in which Hawthorne found himself that he has not taken the trouble to get either his facts or his interpretation straight. Thus the whole interpretation of Hawthorne as a socially sensitive democrat, ill at ease in the company of highly individualistic and antisocial transcendentalists, is little less than absurd. Of the transcendentalists Mr. Mather says, "they did their slumming in their own parlors. . . . It is remarkable how few of them took an interest in the urgent sociological questions of the day." It would indeed be remarkable if it were true; as it is, the only remarkable thing about this observation is that it should come from one who purported to be even superficially familiar with the history of American transcendentalism.

Elsewhere, too, Mr. Mather confesses his unfamiliarity with the American scene and his carelessness about facts. His knowledge of Brook Farm is derived almost wholly from Hawthorne himself (not a single book on the subject is listed in the bibliography), and his acquaintance with the Brook Farm associates is desultory. Of Ripley after the Farm episode, we read, for example: "For a time Sarah . . . managed to keep the two of them alive by teaching school. Then Sarah died . . . and Ripley went to work for Greeley on the New York Tribune . . . this was the dreariest of bread-winning drudgery." But Ripley went to work on the *Tribune* in 1849; Sarah died in 1861; and there is no evidence that Ripley did not enjoy immensely his work in New York. Again: "1853 is the year of the great anti-climax before the Civil War. For the past twelve years anti-slavery leagues had slowly gained

members in the East." But 1853 is not significant in the history of the anti-slavery movement, either as climax or as anticlimax; the year 1841 has no particular meaning in the history of the "anti-slavery leagues", and abolition had gained more in the West, probably, than in the East. The judgment on John Brown is singularly stuffy, and Emerson's memorable observation is misquoted. It is, too, a little surprising to learn that "Lincoln brought from Kentucky his rough manners, uncouth appearance, and a strange pronunciation"; we wonder whether the Gettysburg Address was delivered with a Southern accent.

The conclusion is inescapable that Mr. Mather did not take the trouble to acquaint himself with his subject. The bibliography supports that conclusion. Rusk's edition of Emerson's letters illuminates some aspects of Hawthorne's career, but these letters have not been consulted. Franklin Pierce flits in and out of these pages, but Mr. Mather has not used Nichol's biography of Pierce. There is a great deal about transcendentalism but no evidence that any of the numerous histories or interpretations of transcendentalism were used. No one familiar with the history of Unitarianism could say that "Channing was the first really intelligent man to become a Unitarian"; no one familiar with the history of Harvard—or of European universities—could say that "Harvard was rapidly becoming a *dependence* of Göttingen."

First and last Hawthorne did a good deal of hack work. His biography of Pierce is notorious; his ill-starred editorship of the *American Magazine* less familiar. It may be questioned whether Professor Turner has done the memory of Hawthorne any service in rescuing from well-deserved oblivion these contributions to that miserable journal. Yet it is interesting to discover just how bad Hawthorne could be, at his worst, and how far he could go in effacing his own personality at the behest of publishers. In many of these fugitive pieces, written for the most part on order and in great haste, we can detect characteristic interests and stylistic idiosyncrasies, but it is difficult to follow Mr. Turner when he asserts that "Hawthorne could touch nothing without leaving his stamp on it . . . the stamp of his own individuality". The majority of these pieces reveal a complete absence of any individual quality.

Columbia University.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER.

The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863. Edited by AMELIA W. WILLIAMS and EUGENE C. BARKER. Volume III, *December 20, 1822-January 31, 1844.* Volume IV, *September 29, 1821-February 23, 1847.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1940; 1941. Pp. xxvi, 546; xxv, 548. \$3.25 each.) *Texan Statecraft, 1836-1845.* By JOSEPH WILLIAM SCHMITZ. (San Antonio: Naylor Company. 1941. Pp. viii, 266. \$2.75.)

THESE two volumes cover *in extenso* the major part of Houston's second administration and a few months of his term as senator from Texas. In

each, as in Volume II, the editors include material that was not available at the earlier printing. For Volume III this means only seven brief items; but for Volume IV the supplemental material fills 235 pages. This veritable windfall is due to the generosity of descendants of Houston and of Isaac Van Zandt, and its most significant product is "Houston's Private Executive Record Book", from which the editors derive the bulk of this extra offering. In keeping with their original plan they have selected from this additional material only the writings of Houston, although they note the existence of valuable letters from his contemporaries. One notable exception to this rule is a hitherto unpublished letter of Jackson (pp. 265-67).

The bulk of these papers presents the multitude of minor details with which the energetic Texas executive had to busy himself. This makes necessary long calendars (twenty-two pages in Vol. III, twenty-one in Vol. IV), in which the really important items are often hard to find. Perhaps the use in the calendar of distinctive type for these items would have helped locate them. The cross references in the footnotes contribute to that end. These footnotes continue to afford a wealth of information—biographical and bibliographical—that, we hope, will not be overlooked in preparing the general index.

This publication as a whole does not add much to our information concerning Houston, but it presents in convenient form original material that was until recently in private hands or available only through special research. The two volumes under discussion bring out in clearer perspective than ever before the foreign and domestic problems that Houston faced. Foremost in time among the latter was that of the Indians, bitterly resentful because of the hostile policy of his predecessor. The new president must not only try to reconcile them to his government but keep them from joining the Mexicans in border raids. These were largely provoked by Lamar's ill-starred Santa Fe expedition and in turn led to equally futile attempts at reprisal which Houston was unable to repress. Nevertheless, he met with severe criticism for failing to rescue those who were victims of their own folly. The release from prison of those who survived these forays was due largely to the efforts of representatives of the United States and Great Britain.

This failure to meet popular demands for legitimate protection arose mainly from an empty treasury. Nor was the president able during his administration to secure adequate revenue or establish a stable currency or, despite unlimited offers of land, attract foreign credit. Nevertheless, through rigid economy he succeeded in making his government pay its running expenses, although he was not able to reduce its accumulated debt. Volunteers undertook border raids into Mexico despite his orders, and the unpaid officers and crews of his embryo navy openly flouted his desire for definite peace with Mexico and more stable relations abroad. To the disaffection

engendered by these irregular operations and by financial stringency must be added a serious vendetta arising from land claims in eastern Texas and a dispute over the location of the capital. Both of these affairs provoked Houston's intervention and subjected him to additional criticism. He did not hesitate to take sides in these local disputes and at times turned on his opponents with a pen of no mean caliber. In general his written defense rests on a high plane. He presents his arguments cogently, with surprising wealth of diction and with due regard for the dignity of his office. His occasional outbursts of feeling lead one to wish for even more of these personal revelations; but his letters, both public and private, show a gratifying improvement in personal habits—the result, we may infer, of his second marriage—without any appreciable loss in finesse or in vigor of invective.

Nor does his pen wholly clarify his foreign policy. After the rejection of early proposals for annexation to the United States, Houston and Lamar accepted the status of independence for Texas and devoted themselves to establishing connections elsewhere. Houston's mentors, above all Jackson, did not permit him to lose sight of ultimate annexation, and he himself frequently states that annexation is his own purpose. Nevertheless, his course and his correspondence during the critical months covered by these volumes frequently give point to the charges of his enemies that he was aiming to keep Texas independent, to enlarge her territory to the Pacific, and that he was ready to favor France and Great Britain at the expense of the United States. A careful reading of Houston's intimate letters for this period, however, seems to show nothing more than a devotion to what he considers the paramount interests of the republic he had done so much to create. Ultimately through his course Texas becomes the one besought, rather than the reverse, and Houston one of her first senators.

As such Houston seems somewhat out of place. He takes part, it is true, in debates on the Mexican War and on the Oregon settlement, but the stalwart frontiersman in his picturesque garb belongs elsewhere than in the national Capitol. He has still to speak for the Union in the troubled days of 1850, but Texas needs and will yet receive his major efforts. One surmises that the record of them will greatly expand the two remaining volumes that the editors have promised.

The title of Dr. Schmitz's volume fails to define its subject matter, for it is a diplomatic history of the Republic of Texas. As such it is both useful and timely: useful as the first comprehensive study in its field and timely in that it opportunely serves as a partial guide to the *Writings of Sam Houston*. Fortunately the author had access to the typed manuscript of the earlier volumes although not to "Houston's Private Executive Record Book".

Dr. Schmitz's footnotes show that his work is thoroughly documented. His residence at St. Mary's University gave ready access to the manuscript archives in Austin. His references in the main, however, are to the printed

records edited by E. D. Adams, Garrison, Barker, Elizabeth Howard West, and Winkler, and especially to Garrison's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*. In addition he has drawn slightly on early Texas newspapers and more freely on the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* and other scholarly reviews. The Lamar Papers are cited a few times in the footnotes but are not mentioned in the text. A. K. Christian's *Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar* helps to supply the deficiency. His list of secondary historical materials, including the standard monographs, is an imposing one, and his useful, clear-cut narrative shows that he has made good use of these sources.

A few pages serve to introduce the reader to the tumultuous days of 1836 and to his specific field, Texas diplomacy. This he handles by topics, keeping the presidential succession in mind and giving each executive agent, as well as his principal, due credit for his performance. Aside from annexation, financial matters occupy the major attention of each diplomat. For this reason the negotiations of James Treat and Barnard E. Bee in Mexico and of James Hamilton in Mexico and in Europe—somewhat beclouded by financial difficulties in each case—fill separate chapters. The slavery issue appears at appropriate places but is not overemphasized. His story of Houston's part in the negotiations leading to annexation gives equal credit to that executive's finesse and to his patriotic motives. The book has a satisfactory index. An error in date appears in footnote 3, page 194.

Northwestern University.

ISAAC J. COX.

The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860. By ALBERT LOWTHER DEMAREE. [Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. xix, 430. \$4.00.)

AGRICULTURAL journals are the Cinderellas of American periodicals. Long neglected and ignored, lying in obscure corners of secondhand bookstores and in the attics of farmhouses, they have of late been sought far and wide and today occupy an honored place in many university and other libraries. There are two collections that are outstanding, those in the Department of Agriculture at Washington and in the McCormick Historical Association Library in Chicago. The growing interest in these journals is connected with the increased attention given to agricultural history, for which they form an important source, but they are also valuable source material for the study of other aspects of social history. Professor Demaree's volume, describing the journals published in the United States prior to the Civil War, is a valuable contribution to agricultural history and to American bibliography.

The plan of the book is unusual. Somewhat more than half the volume is given over to a general description of the nature and contents of the journals. We are told of the editors and editorial policies. We learn what reforms they advocated. We are introduced to the special features, to the advertisements, to the "Ladies' Department", and to the poetry, for rare

was the farm journal which did not print some verse, much of it melancholy in tone and most of it meant to extol the virtue of honest toil. The author provides us with interesting examples.

The second section of the work consists of twenty-eight selected extracts from representative journals. The reader may here sample the flavor of agricultural discussion and observe the types of material which await his search. There is a varied menu in the articles which have been reprinted—drainage, agricultural clubs, farm architecture, rules for overseers, and the moral culture of slaves are among them.

The third section is made up of detailed sketches of sixteen important journals, three drawn from New England, five from the South, and eight from New York, Pennsylvania, and the Middle West. The author has also inserted a sketch of the *American Farmer* (Baltimore) in the first section of the book, since it is usually regarded as the pioneer in this field of journalism.

The author disclaims any attempt to write a history of the American agricultural press. Instead he has aimed to provide a general description of the nature and content of the journals and from their contents to reconstruct a part of the picture of American rural life before 1860. Since there were probably more than four hundred different agricultural journals published in this period, the task was a large one. Professor Demaree examined more than a hundred titles and gave intensive study to sixteen of them. No attempt has been made to indicate the location of files since individual titles may be found through the *Union List of Serials*. The book has a bibliography and an index. The author in his preface states that the list of agricultural journals compiled by the late Stephen C. Stuntz but not completed at the time of his death in 1918 is in process of publication by the United States Department of Agriculture. The reviewer is glad to add that it has been published by the department.

University of Western Ontario.

FRED LANDON.

Eastern Workingmen and National Land Policy, 1829-1862. By HELENE SARA ZAHLER. [Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. x, 246. \$2.25.)

THIS book makes but a slight contribution to American history. Commons, Stephenson, and others have previously shown that during the 1830's and 1840's labor and other reform groups were favorable to drastic changes in Federal land policy. Miss Zahler has used a wider variety of sources connected with the labor movement and has brought together numerous references indicating the growth of reform sentiment. She traces the philosophical background of the reform movement and shows how the land or National Reform ideas of George Henry Evans permeated the labor movement. She then attempts to link up the land reform program of Eastern

utopians and labor leaders with the Western demand for pre-emption, graduation, and homestead. Wisely, she does not claim that this Western demand was the result of the agitation of Easterners, but she brings together the two movements in such a way as to convince one that she believes there is such a connection. Miss Zahler's use of the manuscript petitions presented to the Senate and the House as part of the campaign to change the land system is commendable, though it should be said that the petitions add little except to show that numerous labor and reform groups favored land reform.

The principal difficulty with this book is that it attempts to cultivate soil which seems nearly exhausted. The political story of public land policies has frequently been told. Some features of the story are still obscure, notably the legislative history of the military bounty measures, the Indian land cession treaties, the railroad land-grant bills and, to be sure, the political role of the speculator. While these issues have received practically no attention from the historian, his flail has beaten the old straw of pre-emption, graduation, and homestead until it has apparently nothing further to yield. A plea might be made for studies of the operation of these measures, but until they are to be had historians must continue to depend upon the reports of the General Land Office.

There are a number of features of Miss Zahler's study which more careful thought might have substantially improved. The pre-emption law did not go entirely "astray" despite all the frauds connected with its administration. Its worst failing was that it protected settlers only to the time of the auction sale. The "revenue concept" did not cease to dominate legislation in 1841. Pre-emption did not reduce the average price the government received for land, as the average price was always close to the minimum price. Furthermore, there were spirited auctions in the fifties, sixties, seventies, and even eighties. There were few military bounty land warrants available for speculators or settlers between 1841 and 1847, although small amounts of scrip were in the market. The chief purposes of the claim associations were to prevent bounty jumping and to establish a system of title registration for the squatter-members before the auction sale.

The typographical errors and bibliographical omissions are too numerous. There is no Aurora County, Indiana, though there is a town in Indiana of that name. Binghamton and Bretz are misspelled; Channing, *History of the United States*, is incorrectly dated; Goodrich and Davidson, "The Wage Earner in the Western Movement", is incorrectly cited twice, and only one of their two articles is mentioned. If Benjamin F. Butler's *Autobiography* is a primary source, so also is Andrew D. White's. No student of land problems can afford to neglect Bercaw and Hannay, *Bibliography on Land Utilization, 1918-1936* (United States Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous Publication No. 284). Smalley, *History of the Northern Pacific Railroad*, is not as important as Hedges, *Henry Villard and the Railways of*

the Northwest. Schlesinger, *Brownson*, Billington, *Protestant Crusade*, Harlow, *Gerrit Smith*, Van Deusen, *Henry Clay*, and Robbins, "Horace Greeley: Land Reform and Unemployment, 1837-1862" (*Agricultural History*, VII, 18-41), should not have been omitted. There seems to be no adequate reason for listing separately speeches delivered in Congress and published in the *Globe*. Edward P. Cheyney deserves to have listed his most recent account of the antirent disturbances in New York.

Cornell University.

PAUL W. GATES.

Florida, Land of Change. By KATHRYN TRIMMER ABBEY. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 426. \$3.50.)

THE writing of state history involves orientation of the area with larger wholes. Political, economic, and social boundaries seldom coincide. State historians have often overlooked this fact. The problem of orientation is peculiarly germane to a history of Florida when one remembers that the word "Florida" is nearly as old as the word "America" and that the areas so named have been both the welcome and the unwanted children of more than one imperial parent.

As regards Florida, the orientative factor is only the beginning of the difficulty. Penetrating evaluation of Florida's career not only implies the analytical equipment of the trained historian but involves the nice evaluation of a long-continued time element and a chain of events complicated and often kaleidoscopic. The widely scattered nature and scarcity of the sources unfold a task greater than is ordinarily implied in projects of this kind.

Dr. Abbey is well equipped for the task she has accomplished. Aware that scarcity of materials must postpone any definitive essay, she has used available data to produce, as judged by modern standards, the first really scholarly attempt at a complete history of the area and the state called Florida. Eclectic to a degree, she has used local minutiae sparingly, and little of such "clutter" is found within her covers unless it ties in with some larger nexus. Withal, the book not only achieves satisfying perspective but contains factual data sufficient to dismiss any charges of vagueness.

The title of the book is eloquent. Throughout the long history of the peninsula whose hinterlands were almost imperial in size and importance, one is struck with changes wrought, damage done, and benefits received by transfer of title from Spanish and French to English, back to Spanish, and finally to "American" hands. Florida's progress undoubtedly has been retarded by such marching and countermarching. In spite of soil which at worst is often bad and at best is of uneven quality, in spite of difficulties that were the common lot of the frontier, in spite of frontier imperialism and the persistence of frontier conditions, one feels that Miss Abbey's chronicle of political, social, and economic uncertainty draws us progressively a brighter picture and floodlights with hope the dark field where Florida's happiness has been at stake. Conquistadors and pirates, swarms of adven-

turers great and small, prime ministers cool and calculating, kings indifferent and kings alert, republican imperialists, Indian renegades, cotton planters, secessionists, merchant princes and railroad builders—all have added to the lengthening sum of Florida's remembrance. Often have these varied actors, idly or otherwise, applied the eraser with disastrous results to the forces of law, order, and security. *Quand même*, Florida has survived it all and today is a valued region whose potentialities are still great.

Although the book is not intended entirely for exacting readers, some omissions reveal themselves both as to interpretations and as to stresses. One could wish for less political matter. The peculiar character of soil and climate, its relation to the South and to the nation, would indicate that more direct attention should have been paid to geographical factors. The plantation system, the citrus, turpentine, lumber, and cattle industries, frequently alluded to, could have been more thoroughly analyzed. Florida's position as a part of the Spanish-American borderlands and her intimate tie-up with the politics and economics of frontier imperialism perhaps could have received more attention had space permitted.

The chapter on the Seminole War ably summarizes Florida's rather inglorious solution of the Indian problem; the one on Florida in the War between the States is even better. The chapter on economic development during the territorial period, although dealing with a wealth of material, is perhaps least satisfying. One must admit, however, that the problem is both vast and complex.

The style is usually easy and flowing. A few cases of peculiar word usage are noted, as on page 136, where "Jackson's performances eclipsed the most lurid apprehension or glowing hope." On page 154 a sentence about the Watson Line seems obscure. The name G. I. F. Clarke, page 128, is incorrect. Clarke's name is George John Frederick Clarke. He spent at least his early youth in Spain. The book is illustrated and well supplied with charts. Except for a few omissions the bibliography is sufficient for ordinary needs. The list of governors is useful. The format of the book is attractive. The volume is singularly free from typographical errors and is well indexed.

University of Florida.

JAMES D. GLUNT.

West of the River. By DOROTHY GARDINER. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1941. Pp. vi, 347. \$3.50.)

THIS book is an interesting study of the region west of the Missouri River. It is well written and generally accurate.

Opening with a detailed study of the topography of the region between Santa Fe and the upper Missouri, Miss Gardiner describes the three great highways to the West: the Santa Fe Trail, the Missouri River route, and the Oregon Trail, which she renames the Great Road. Succeeding chapters about the white men and Indians in the region carry the story to the discussion of the mails, express, and telegraph. The author has made an unfair

criticism of the western Indians. Seeming to generalize, she declares that they always "mutilated the bodies of dead enemies, red and white alike . . . all Indians preferred to steal an article . . . were deplorably dirty". Again, she writes that they ate decayed meat and lice. Those practices were certainly not true of all western Indian tribes.

The story of the Spanish omits the constructive work of the brave friars and mission leaders. They tended to aid the Indian, whereas De Soto, Coronado, and Villazur were regarded as enemies by western Indians. There is an interesting discussion of the Vérendryes' exploration of the Dakotas.

Transportation on the three routes varied. The Missouri was an early highway of commerce for canoes, dugouts, pirogues, bullboats, mackinaws, keelboats, and finally steamboats. Beginning in 1819 with the voyage of the *Independence* a short distance up the Missouri, river travel was boomed in 1853, when the *El Paso* traveled over two hundred miles above Fort Union. Thirteen years later the *Peter Balen* steamed past Fort Benton to a point six miles from the Great Falls.

William Becknell, the "Father of the Santa Fe Trail", opened in 1821 the great Missouri trade with that Mexican city. He sold \$15,000 worth of goods there in the following year. Jacob and Colonel Glenn Fowler were also Santa Fe traders in that era. Their reports influenced Congress to appropriate \$30,000 to mark a road from Missouri to Mexico.

The Great Road is associated with the history of Oregon, Utah, and California. Hall Kelley, after talking Oregon for years, prepared in 1832 to take followers there to build a "seaport city with wide streets . . . and a great public square". The first expedition, however, was led by Nathaniel Wyeth that year from St. Louis. Utah is associated with the Mormons and California with the gold seekers.

St. Louis, founded in 1764, became the gateway to the Missouri region, and wagons and stagecoaches dotted the plains in the early fifties. In 1808 the Butterfield line was transporting mail on the "Ox Bow" route, and the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company in 1860. The Pony Express started by the latter furnished a thrilling part of Western history.

The book closes with chapters on Ben Holladay, Indian wars, and the Pacific Railway. Miss Gardiner's material on Holladay seems to be based largely on Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California*, because only two issues of contemporary newspapers are cited and no documentary material. The branch line, Nebraska City to Fort Kearney, is not mentioned. The author relates, however, some of the highly amazing phases in the career of the great stagecoach king. Holladay died in 1887 and not in 1877.

Eighteen excellent contemporary pictures of early Western historical scenes enhance the value of the book. There is no bibliography, and the

book is not well documented. A ten-page index is satisfactory, and a clever historical drawing introduces each chapter. A page map of early routes to the West is in the first chapter.

West of the River is a contribution to Western history, and the West is made to live again.

Northwestern State College.

J. V. FREDERICK.

Western America: The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region beyond the Mississippi. By LEROY R. HAFEN, Historian, State Historical Society of Colorado, Professor of History, University of Denver, and CARL COKE RISTER, Professor of History, University of Oklahoma. [Prentice-Hall Books on History, edited by Carl Wittke.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1941. Pp. xxiv, 698. \$4.65.)

Western America, a regional study, is the first comprehensive survey of the history of the land between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean from the time of Cabeza de Vaca and Coronado to Theodore Roosevelt. The first four chapters are devoted to Spanish activities in the Southwest, the French advance by way of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, and the border rivalries between the representatives of these two powers. Next come four chapters in which the course of the Anglo-Americans from the Atlantic to the Mississippi is traced briefly. Thus is the stage set for the principal actors in the pageant of trans-Mississippi history—the explorers, Indian fighters, miners, cowboys, railroad builders, and farmers of the nineteenth century—to whom the remaining twenty-seven chapters are devoted. The emphasis is on beginnings, especially the work of the explorers, the soldiers, and those who made the first efforts to exploit the natural resources of the region; later phases of development in the various Western states are treated briefly or omitted, since these belong more properly to the history of the nation as a whole. The summaries, chapter by chapter, are good; the bibliographical notes are extensive.

Since this is a regional history, details that would have been out of place in a survey written for a different purpose have rightly been included; but even so it may be questioned whether some of the details are not so distinctly local in interest as to be of little value to the general reader. Facts rather than interpretations have been stressed; and the facts are characterized by a high degree of accuracy. The mistakes observed relate either to minor details or are obviously typographical; but surely this book deserved a more careful proofreading, an index showing fewer evidences of hasty preparation, and the rewriting of some poorly constructed sentences. It should also be said, however, that the latter are more than matched by others that are almost poetic in their beauty and clarity.

The method of organization combines the chronological, the geographical, and the topical approaches to the general subject. On the whole this is satisfactory, but the topical treatment is carried so far in some of the more

inclusive chapters as to take the reader far beyond events subsequently described but essential for an understanding of what is presented at the earlier point. It seems illogical, for example, to discuss Kentucky's part in the Revolution (p. 97) before the beginnings of settlement there (p. 116); to read about life on the sod-house frontier (chap. xxiii) before the removal of the Indians from the Great Plains (chap. xxviii); or to study the Indian wars of the seventies and eighties before the building of the railroads (chap. xxix).

The authors are men of the West; their familiarity with the region is shown not only by the accuracy of the narrative but also by the many references, obviously based on firsthand information, to topography, soil, climate, flora, and fauna. Scattered here and there through the book are many excellent descriptions of the life of the people under varying frontier conditions. Not the least of this book's merits is the way in which it shows how the people who crossed the Mississippi throughout the nineteenth century modified their manners and customs and developed techniques of pioneering suitable to the new environment. Fundamentally sound, this book will doubtless be for many years a useful text for the student and a valuable and standard reference work for the general reader.

University of Colorado.

COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ.

Vanguards of the Frontier: A Social History of the Northern Plains and Rocky Mountains from the Earliest White Contacts to the Coming of the Homemaker. By EVERETT DICK, Professor of History in Union College, Lincoln, Nebraska. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1941. Pp. xvi, 574. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR DICK has presented most capably the life and manners of the widely assorted types that constituted the transient white population of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain frontier during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The author includes the entire area between the Mississippi and the Great Basin from the Santa Fe Trail to the Canadian border. Chronologically the descriptions run from the establishment of the American Fur Company on the northern plains and the exploits of the mountain trappers in the 1820's to the open-range cattle and sheep raising more than half a century later.

The book is divided into twenty-two chapters, each dealing with a separate phase or occupation of frontier life. The trader and trapper are depicted; their dress, manners, speech, relations with the Indians, business methods, and other aspects of their lives—all receive full comment. Examples of behavior and quotations of dialogue are frequent and typical. The necessity of covering a large field in each chapter leads to some rather abrupt changes of pace and subject. Occasional overgeneralizations occur; but these are limitations imposed by the scope of the work and have been kept at a minimum.

The sections on the soldier and the Indian agent suffer from having been drawn too heavily from early examples on the prairies near the Mississippi rather than from the army and agency life of the higher plains. The missionary is adequately treated; then comes an excursion into the lead mines of Missouri and the upper Mississippi, interesting but extraneous to the general subject. The chapters dealing with transportation and communication, possessing a considerable unity of place and continuity of time, are highly satisfactory. The Santa Fe, Oregon, and Mormon Trails, river transportation from canoe to steamboat, the Pony Express and Western Union, stagecoach travel, overland freighting, and the railroad builders—all are pictured in interesting and accurate detail. Loggers, surveyors, buffalo hunters, the Long Drive from Texas, the open cattle range, and sheep raising fill out the remaining sections of this frontier panorama. In conclusion, the author recites the traits common to all frontier types—brutality, individualism, democracy, hospitality, self-confidence, optimism, and the rest. Co-operation in time of necessity is noted, though the reliance on government aid in many fields is not listed as a qualification to rugged individualism.

The text is not highly documented but shows a wide knowledge of many subjects. Few items of character or conduct are neglected, and the bibliography attests research in all types of sources. This reviewer had hoped to find a social history of the northern plains and Rocky Mountains, as advertised in the subtitle, and was somewhat disappointed to read the author's apology in the preface that scarcity of source material on the northern regions as compared to that for the central plains had led to an excess of examples and specific instances from the latter section. Only one Montana newspaper and none from Wyoming are listed in the bibliography, as compared to fourteen Kansas papers and eleven from Nebraska. The early Montana press was excellent, and had the author so desired, he could have found much Canadian material available on the northernmost section of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains. Aside from this slight discrepancy between title and text, Professor Dick's latest book comes up to expectations as a detailed study of the life and manners of those various intrepid groups of Americans who left their imprint on the trans-Mississippi West before the advent of the agricultural settler. Its wealth of material and fascinating subject matter are presented in a manner that should appeal to the student of the West and the general reader alike.

Bethel, Connecticut.

WALCOTT WATSON.

Colorado, the Centennial State. By PERCY STANLEY FRITZ, Assistant Professor of History, University of Colorado. [Prentice-Hall Books on History, edited by Carl Wittke.] (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1941. Pp. xii, 518. Trade edition \$5.00, school edition \$3.75.)

THE first half of the volume is devoted to the "Background of Colorado

History" (geography, Indians, explorers, and fur traders), "The Pioneer Period, 1858-1861", and "The Territorial Period, 1861-1876". The second half treats of "The State of Colorado, 1876—". There is a good discussion of recent problems and tendencies in the state. Social history is given appropriate emphasis. The chapter on "Aesthetic and Cultural Attainments" is an excellent summary. Numerous topics are given comprehensive discussion.

Much of the volume is in the form of topical essays. Among the excellent ones are the following chapters: "The Mining Districts", "The Constitution of Colorado", "The Open Range", "Conservation and Reclamation", and "Populism and the Panic".

The proportions of the book, as expressed in the space given to various subjects, are not above criticism. The author devotes but one chapter (pp. 103-20) to the early discoveries of gold, the great Pike's Peak gold rush, pioneer transportation facilities, and the founding of the first towns; while he uses three chapters (pp. 121-68) to tell of the creation, laws, and influence of mining districts and of early mining methods. Agricultural development receives scant treatment, and much of the story of the railroads is ignored. In the chapter on "Industrial Development" four pages are given to industrial development and twenty-two pages to labor troubles.

Errors of fact are rather numerous. The Arkansas River does not rise in South Park (p. 7). The first transcontinental railroad did not traverse Bridger Pass (p. 11). Ignacio was not Chief Ouray's successor; nor did Colorow die in 1880 (p. 41). The route of Escalante is wrongly given (p. 64). The Bent brothers were not French Canadians (p. 91). Bent's Fort is wrongly located (p. 91). Bent's New Fort was east instead of west of the old fort (p. 93). The Russell prospecting party reached the mouth of Cherry Creek on June 23 instead of May 23 (p. 105). The Oakes guidebook contained the journal of Luke Tierney rather than that of William Russell (p. 106). Several errors occur in the description of the Pony Express (pp. 111-12). The incorporation of Denver was in 1861 instead of 1862 (p. 114). There were two sessions of the general assembly of Jefferson Territory instead of the asserted "one and only meeting" (p. 143). Regular freight rates before the coming of the railroad were not "from twenty to twenty-five dollars a hundred" (p. 221). The Baker expedition was in 1860 instead of in 1816 (p. 282). The Colorow uprising was in 1887 instead of 1884 (p. 290). Mesa Verde National Park embraces over eighty square miles instead of "eighty acres" (p. 321). Other errors were noted on the following pages: 59, 65, 95, 109, 122, 139, 172, 174, 183, 202, 217, 305, 407, 460, 481.

Ambiguous and ungrammatical sentences occur rather frequently. In numerous cases pronouns do not agree with their antecedents.

Much new material is presented in the volume, and the writing is enlivened by numerous anecdotes. The bibliographies at the end of the chapters are generally excellent. Many illustrations and a good index are

provided, but there is no list of illustrations. The format of the book is entirely satisfactory.

State Historical Society of Colorado.

LEROY R. HAFEN.

Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859. By LUKE TIERNEY, WILLIAM B. PARSONS, and Summaries of the Other Fifteen. Edited by LEROY R. HAFEN, Historian of the State Historical Society of Colorado. [The Southwest Historical Series, IX.] (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1941. Pp. 346. \$6.00.)

IN this volume a fine contribution is made to the Southwest Historical series, which includes such documents on the Western frontier as Garrard's *Wah-to-yah and the Taos Trail* and several on the frontier army life a century ago. This volume is the first of three dealing with the Pike's Peak gold rush.

It is more than a documentary source book. In a historical introduction of sixty pages Dr. Hafen discusses the discoveries of gold in Colorado prior to the gold rush. Beginning with our vague knowledge of Rivera's expedition and ending with the newspaper reports of 1858, this is the most complete presentation thus far made of these early rumors and discoveries.

Two of the guidebooks to the Pike's Peak region are then given verbatim. The first is a good selection in view of its rarity and its historical significance. A pioneer would not recognize the name of Tierney, but most of the pioneers knew D. C. Oakes, the coauthor and publisher of this guidebook. The influence of this Tierney, or rather Oakes, guidebook was perhaps greater than Marcy's, which was the largest and best of the Pike's Peak guidebooks. The other guidebook reproduced in full was written by a college graduate who was a member of the Lawrence party in 1858. The documents themselves are greatly improved by Dr. Hafen's scholarly editing and illuminating footnotes.

The chief regret I have is that typographical considerations were considered paramount to accuracy. Changes made in punctuation, italicization, and capitalization considerably lower the value of the work to the historian. Typography, punctuation, and eccentricities of spelling mean not only possibly different interpretations but to the scientific historian are one of the means of determining the authenticity of a document. In the case of the Tierney guidebook one wonders what light, if any, the capitalization and punctuation of Tierney and Oakes throw upon the question of whether and to what degree Oakes might have edited Tierney's manuscript.

The latter third of the book gives concise summaries of the other fifteen extant guidebooks. The mere tracking down of these rare and elusive documents was no mean accomplishment. These summaries contain most of the information of value. An appendix of eight short documents relates rather to the first part of the book than to the guidebooks themselves.

As is usual in this type of work, there is no index to the volume, but a full analytical index is promised in Volume XII.

The historian will appreciate having this rare source material on the Pike's Peak gold rush made available, and anyone interested in the frontier or pioneer period will find it worth while.

University of Colorado.

PERCY S. FRITZ.

Aeronautics in the Union and Confederate Armies, with a Survey of Military Aeronautics prior to 1861. By F. STANSBURY HAYDON. Volume I. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. Pp. xxii, 421. Plates xlv. \$4.00.)

THIS is the first of two projected volumes which, when completed, will form a major contribution to the history of military aeronautics. It will be extremely useful, first, as a corrective to traditional writing on military events in the War between the States, and second, as a prime source for all future investigation in this interesting field. Based upon years of research and the use of an amazing number of hitherto neglected materials, Haydon's book is a fine example of historical work. It is characteristic of the author's thoroughness that there are references to sixty-two manuscript sources in the National Archives and to hundreds of contemporary newspapers and periodicals; that there are 1,834 footnotes and forty-five excellent illustrative plates; and that for the second volume there have been planned a complete critical bibliography and a bibliographical essay to cover the entire subject.

Haydon prefaces his book with a summary of the rise of military aeronautics in Europe, beginning with the formation of the French balloon corps on April 2, 1794, and carrying the story down through the Austro-Sardinian War of 1859. Similarly, he traces the development of civil and military aeronautics in the United States from January 9, 1793, when the first American ascension was made, to 1861. Following this introductory material there are well-written sketches of the work of three pioneer American balloonists, James Allen, John Wise, and John LaMountain. The contributions of each of these men to the formation of an aeronautic corps in the United States Army are justly estimated.

But the principal emphasis of the book is upon the career of T. S. C. Lowe, the individual whose energy, enthusiasm, and technical knowledge were primarily responsible for giving the Union Army between 1861 and 1863 the first modern aeronautics department in any military establishment. The account of this development is presented under three heads: material and personnel, administration, and operation. Haydon conclusively demonstrates that by the beginning of 1862 the seven balloons of the Army of the Potomac and their operatives were able to take the field with real usefulness. He concludes the volume with a careful summary of aeronautic operations in the Virginia campaigns and in the Departments of the West and South

to the end of March, 1862. In these long but unfailingly interesting chapters Haydon has indicated alike the technical competence of Lowe (*e.g.*, the formula for balloon varnish, p. 235) and the nature of the difficulties that he faced (p. 397).

Despite the author's care and attention to detail, some minor corrective suggestions are in order. To begin with, it is a slight exaggeration to say (p. xvi) that "little or nothing appears to be known of the inception of American military aeronautics". Although Haydon's is the first book upon the subject, it has been discussed in many monographs, including one printed in the *American Historical Review*, XLII (1937), 652-70. The account of the early life of T. S. C. Lowe would have been enriched by the use of the town history of Randolph, New Hampshire. George M. Dallas was the United States *minister* to Great Britain. The well-known telegram, cited on page 175, from T. S. C. Lowe to President Lincoln was sent on June 18 and not June 1, as indicated. There are misspellings in footnotes on pages 19 and 339.

These, let it be repeated, are slight blemishes on the face of so excellent a work. Haydon has supplied an enormous amount of information, has clarified many an obscure point, and has presented the opening chapters of the story of American military aeronautics in a lucid and interesting fashion. He well deserves the award of the Mrs. Simon Baruch University Prize for 1940, offered by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. His forthcoming second volume will be awaited with anticipation.

Colby Junior College.

J. DUANE SQUIRES.

The Mind of the South. By W. J. CASH. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1941. Pp. xi, 429, xv. \$3.75.)

THE time is ripe for a synthesis and interpretation of the wealth of data concerning the Old South which has been gathered during the last two decades. Especially, the Southern "way of life" needs to be presented in perspective against the background of other cultures. Although the pioneer stage of this type of history is likely to exhibit the fault of "brilliant impressionism", we need historians who are brave enough and intelligent enough to advance beyond the relatively safe coasts of economic and political exegesis into the deep ocean of the history of ideas within the framework of regional patterns. Mr. Cash's work, *The Mind of the South*, belongs to this category of bold adventures. Far from being a well-proportioned intellectual history of the South, it is, nevertheless, a valuable sociological essay on the development of Southern society from its rootage in the ante-bellum period. It deals primarily with the emotions of a sentimental people and the psychological adjustments of Southerners to changing economic conditions. The author tells us practically nothing of what the great thinkers of

the South thought, nor does he attempt to analyze Southern contributions to political theory, philosophy, or natural science.

Yet this book is rich in provocative ideas. Its point of view, portraying the mind of the average Southerner, "the man at the center", is fresh and significant of a modern trend in Southern historiography. The author discards the legend of the Old South and shows the closeness of its society to frontier conditions. He accepts Henry Adams's portraiture of the mind of Rooney Lee, the extroverted son of the great Confederate general, as typical of Southern civilization. But do not extroverts form the majority of all societies? The Southern mind in the ante-bellum period, according to Mr. Cash, was distinguished by three primary characteristics: individualism, romanticism, puritanism. Closely related to the romantic temper was the hedonism of the average Southerner and his childlike incapacity for analysis and detachment. The conflict with the Yankee over the slavery question produced the concept of "the South" and was an important factor in putting the Southern mind in a strait jacket. The resulting suppression of all realistic criticism raises the paradoxical question of how one can reconcile the strong individualism of the Southerner with his intolerance of dissent. The answer seems to lie in a point that Mr. Cash emphasizes again and again, "that eternal uneasiness of the South's conscience over slavery". Such an answer, this reviewer believes, is essentially sound despite the contrary view of some members of the Agrarian School. The abolitionist attack against the whole way of life of the South, although unwise and fanatical, would not have stung so deeply unless it had coincided with a disturbing sense of insecurity and an internal doubt as to the rightness of the peculiar institution.

The Mind of the South is especially significant in its interpretation of the New South. The author maintains that a legend has arisen concerning the New South, which consists of the erroneous view that the Civil War erased the civilization of the ante-bellum period and created a new order in which industrialism dominates. The mind of the Old South survived, Mr. Cash maintains, with a striking continuity into recent times. The cotton mill village, for example, represented the transfer of the plantation organization and modes of thought to manufacturing. Industrialism did not lead to a revolution in the basic ideology of the South; only it elevated "the hard, pushing, horse-trading type of man" and confirmed the exaggerated individualism of the Old South. His discussion of the Negro problem since the Civil War, particularly the phase of lynching, is eminently sane and free from prejudice. One of the main threads of his later chapters is a description of the rise of self-conscious class feeling in the South. He condemns "the demagogues" unsparingly, thus denying a recent thesis that many of them were genuine leaders of social reform. He observes that since the close of World War I the Southern states have suffered from various

tensions, the unionization movement in labor, the Ku Klux Klan, the tenant problem, the loss of foreign cotton markets, and a plague of demagogues. On the other side of the balance sheet the author points to the emergence of a rash of Southern writers and to the great strides in education. Nevertheless, his book ends in a note of pessimism: the tragedy of the South in 1940 was that it lacked statesmen and that there existed a great gulf between the political leaders and the intellectuals. Mr. Cash has written a brave and critical book about the South which deserves a wide circle of readers, including the effective political and social leaders of the South today.

Lafayette College.

CLEMENT EATON.

New Haven Negroes: A Social History. By ROBERT AUSTIN WARNER. [Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 309. \$3.50.)

THE Negro in Connecticut and especially in the vicinity of New Haven has had an interesting and significant development. His part as a pawn in the West Indian trade, his relation to ethical and social questions as illustrated in the astonishing incident of the *Amistad* and the case of Prudence Crandell, are of far more than local interest; and the connection of Yale University with Negroes and Negro problems deserves thought and study.

I do not think that Mr. Warner's book is an adequate study of any of these interesting problems, and least of all does it give a picture of the inner psychological development of this group of Negroes. Mr. Warner has collected in his third and seventh chapters a valuable body of information concerning the Negro in New Haven. This covers about one hundred pages and is derived principally from the archives of the colored Congregational Church and other sources which are not indicated, as the book lacks a bibliography.

The rest of the volume is more or less conscious padding, with repetition and current gossip. The padding consists of general comments on social conditions in New England, the abolitionist movement throughout the United States, Civil War, emancipation and Reconstruction in the South, and conditions of slavery in the West Indies. All these are cognate matters, but they are not subjects upon which Mr. Warner appears to have any special knowledge, and they do not belong in any carefully reasoned study of the New Haven Negro.

In the case of this particular group, again the author allows himself to go frequently astray: he devotes six pages or more to the conventions of 1830 which took place in Philadelphia and have been studied, not, to be sure as Mr. Warner intimates, adequately, but quite as carefully as he has studied them. He is not content to study Negro leadership in New Haven but discusses Frederick Douglass and Marcus Garvey, who had little to do with New Haven; and he devotes three pages to the gifted Dr. McCune Smith, who lived and worked in New York.

Provided, of course, that funds are available for a rambling social study of over three hundred pages of which less than half are really germane to the subject, the question comes up, then—how good a job has the author done with his special thesis? Here again I am not satisfied. I have personal interest in New Haven because it was the home of my colored ancestors, and I especially commend the idea of studies of local Negro groups such as I attempted in Philadelphia in 1896. But I find in Mr. Warner's study no sense of unity or growth, no careful digestion or arrangement of his material, no conception of the inner reactions of this changing and developing group of human beings, and no comprehension of the drama involved. Some social students seem to think that because the scientist may not be emotional he has, therefore, no call to study emotion. This, of course, is a ridiculous *non sequitur*. The emotional meaning of the *Amistad* incident—of the way in which a group of people went out, in the face of public opinion, to fight the battle of helpless, stolen, black men who had murdered their way to freedom—this story, which marks a high point in American history, is told almost flippantly by Mr. Warner with, it seems to me, no adequate notion of its real meaning and the shadow of a sneer at the motives involved. The relations of Yale University to the Negro (perhaps naturally) are almost omitted, as though they formed no part of the tremendous story involving the way in which a great center of intellectual effort in the United States approached the nation's most serious social problem.

Mr. Warner impresses me as writing of the Negro group from the outside looking in, which is almost inevitable. I do not say that the only person who can write of England must be an Englishman, or that only Japanese should write of Japan; but I would insist that if a person is writing of a group to which he is socially and culturally alien, he must have some extraordinary gifts of insight. This Mr. Warner conspicuously lacks. He is not unsympathetic with Negroes nor in the slightest way inimical, but, on the other hand, he betrays no iota of real comprehension of what it meant to be a Negro in New Haven during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. The New Haven Negroes deserve better study than Mr. Warner has given them.

Atlanta University.

W. E. B. Du Bois.

The Negro In Tennessee, 1865-1880. By ALRUTHEUS AMBUSH TAYLOR, Professor of History and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Fisk University. (Washington: Associated Publishers. 1941. Pp. 306. \$3.00.)

UNLIKE the situation that prevailed in some of the states farther south, the Negroes occupied a subordinate place in the Reconstruction of Tennessee. Members of the black race were not enfranchised until November, 1866, and even then were not immediately allowed to hold office or serve

on juries. No Negro was ever elected to the House or the Senate of the United States from Tennessee, and only one black man served in the state legislature prior to 1880. Consequently an account of the Negro in Tennessee, 1865-80, offers little opportunity for a detailing of the lurid and sensational episodes so often associated with the activities of this race in Reconstruction politics. Yet the Negro was certainly a vital element in the life of Tennessee during this period. Throughout the difficult years of transition and adjustment following the war, the Negroes were gradually developing a capable leadership, and their race made progress along educational, economic, social, and religious lines. At times also they were an aggressive minority in politics.

Dean Taylor has performed a valuable service to his own race as well as to the historical guild in making available much information which has hitherto been accessible only to those having time and opportunity to consult newspaper files and public documents. Conforming to the best traditions of historical scholarship, this book seeks neither to justify nor to explain away the foibles of the newly emancipated Negroes; nor are the whites too severely arraigned for alleged mistreatment of the blacks. There are no special pleading, no labored conclusions, and no bitterness in the work. The facts, carefully gathered and systematically arranged, are presented without varnish and allowed to tell their own story.

This very lack of any frame of reference or any definite conclusions constitutes the chief criticism that might be directed against the study. The presentation of so many facts without accompanying interpretation serves to give to the volume something of the character of a collection of annals. One would like to know, for example, more about the effects of slavery upon the Negroes of Tennessee. Did the relatively small number of large plantations in this state make the Negroes more self-reliant and more capable of coping with the problems of freedom than was the case in the lower South? Also, what were the subsequent results of the progress made by the race during the period under consideration? More information along these lines would have given the study a better perspective and would have helped to remove it from the vacuum to which its more or less arbitrarily selected beginning and ending dates assign it.

Relying almost wholly upon primary sources, principally newspapers and government documents, the author apparently made little use of the considerable body of secondary and monographic material touching upon various phases of the subject. A few examples of careless proofreading may be detected. The index is only fairly adequate.

Within the limits set, however, the volume must be characterized as the most comprehensive treatment of this phase of Tennessee history that has yet appeared.

Converse College.

JAMES W. PATTON.

Memoirs of Jeremiah Curtin. Edited with Notes and Introduction by JOSEPH SCHAFER, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. [Wisconsin Biography Series.] (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1940. Pp. ix, 925. \$3.00.)

THE author of these *Memoirs* was born on a farm in Wisconsin of Irish parents when pioneering was still to be done and wolves and rattlesnakes thick enough to be dreaded. One night, lying on the hay in the farm wagon, he tells us, "the decision came, never to be questioned again: 'I will find out all that it is possible for me to find out about the world and this vast universe of ours.'" The aspiration did not, however, make a scientist out of him, as one might have supposed, but an omnivorous linguist and an insatiable traveler.

In 1882 he made the acquaintance of Major J. W. Powell, director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, who enlisted his services in recording and rescuing some of the fast-vanishing languages and myths of the American Indians, and this work carried him to the Seneca of New York, to the tribes of the old Indian Territory, to California and Oregon, and finally to the Lacandones of southern Mexico, among whom it was hoped that a clue might be found to the interpretation of the Maya hieroglyphs. Later he extended his linguistic and folklore-hunting expeditions to Ireland.

In the summer of 1888 fate introduced him to the writings of the Polish novelist Sienkiewicz, and he is best known for his superlatively good work in translating these into English, particularly *Quo Vadis*, which had a phenomenal sale.

With the satisfaction of his well-nigh morbid wanderlust, his thirst for linguistic knowledge, and the highly placed contacts which his gifts secured for him, Curtin seems to have had a very pleasant passage through his earthly existence, and self-satisfaction—devoid, however, of obtrusive egotism—bubbles along every page.

The linguistic collections which he made for the Bureau of Ethnology were of high quality, and his translations were splendidly phrased, but it is to be added that the only bureau publication under his name was completed and edited by another. The California myths were printed privately. Considerable quantities of folklore were rescued by him in America and during his two trips to Ireland, and his translations are everything that could be desired, but he was not an original genius. He passed rapidly, competently, and happily over the surface of the earth but remained to the end uninterested in, and apparently ignorant of, the great dynamic forces that had brought it into existence and the social forces that were even then gathering to overthrow the one society in which he especially delighted. Antipathy to the English, which crops up repeatedly, is not surprising in a youth of south Irish extraction and Russian intimacies, but neither the peons of Mexico nor the Russian masses cause him any mental disturbance. The

only exceptions are the sufferings of the Irish, which fall in line with his Anglophobia, and the mistreatment of some of his California Indians, whose case he carried to Washington. One is somewhat amused at the thought of his probable reactions if he were suddenly to return to earth in this age of motorized transport and social revolt and revisit the Russia which he held in such high esteem. He could read Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* in the original but add nothing original about it. If you traverse the nine hundred pages of his Memoirs you will have a pleasant journey, meet interesting people, and see and hear many interesting things, but if you want any light on fundamental questions of politics or economics or philosophy, you will have to look elsewhere. At the same time you will not be sorry for a minute that you made the trip.

Chevy Chase, Maryland.

JOHN R. SWANTON.

New England: Indian Summer, 1865-1915. By VAN WYCK BROOKS. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1940. Pp. 557. \$3.75.)

New England: Indian Summer is sufficiently well known to make it desirable to discuss in the present review only certain general historical problems raised by the book. It belongs to the genre known as American literary history, an interest that does not, in any important sense, antedate the twentieth century.

During the period 1865-1915, with which Mr. Brooks deals, English literature came to occupy in American liberal arts colleges a position of at least parity with the classics as the carrier of the great tradition of the humanities. Then, about the turn of the century, offerings in American literature began to appear in the curricula. These stepchildren of the now great English courses endured for years an unhappy lot. Literature is one of the arts; for it aesthetic standards are the ultimate tests. Because of the obvious aesthetic inferiority of most American literary writing to the great British masterpieces, early twentieth century scholars of English literature were inclined to question the value for the student of spending his time on such writers as Longfellow, Cooper, or Howells. The answer to such criticism was, of course, that literature, besides being one of the arts, is also a vehicle for diffusing and transmitting ideas. This reply was particularly pertinent when pre-Sumter American literature was considered. So it came about that the new courses in American literature, struggling for existence in an unfriendly environment, tended to emphasize ideas more than art forms. These courses became, in effect, the first important undertakings in what might be called general American intellectual history. Bliss Perry wrote a volume for the *Chronicles of America* which he entitled *The American Mind* although it dealt almost exclusively with literary history. The literary scholars had little competition from American historians, for the latter had, outside of constitutional development, left the field of the history of ideas virtually uncultivated.

Ultimately this early twentieth century growth of literary history, emphasizing the history of ideas, gave to American scholarship Vernon Parrington and his *Main Currents of American Thought*. One of Parrington's most important achievements, however, was to recognize that, important as it is, American literature is an inadequate source for the history of American ideas. In literary history there is, naturally, great emphasis on the outstanding literary figures. By this standard Emerson and Whitman receive large allocations of space in any survey of American literature. But William James is probably more important than Emerson in the evolution of American ideas, and Josiah Royce certainly equals the sage of Concord in the quality both of his social and his philosophical thinking. Death stayed Parrington's hand when he had just begun to cut his trail through the jungle he had discovered on the hither side of 1865. Van Wyck Brooks deals with the New England corner of this wilderness. Where does he stand on the theory and practice of literary history?

New England: Indian Summer is a book primarily about people, described sometimes in groups and sometimes as individuals. Mr. Brooks is at his best in the short character sketch, though some of his longer portraits, such as that of Howells, are outstanding. Practically all the persons described at any length are literary men or women. But Mr. Brooks does not disclose the standard of measure by which he evaluates literature and identifies the man of letters. He includes the novelists, the poets, and the essayists. He enters a doubtful zone when he considers such a writer as Josiah Royce. Is Royce's *The Philosophy of Loyalty* literature? "I have not ventured to discuss philosophical writers at any length", Mr. Brooks replies in his preface. "I am not competent to do so, and, besides, I feel these writers are related to my subject somewhat obliquely. This must be my excuse for treating so inadequately the beautiful mind and spirit of William James." What is Mr. Brooks's subject? His reference to the mind of James suggests that it is at least close to the history of ideas. He affirms in the preface that he hopes "to sketch the history of American literature". His avoidance of discussion of such seminal minds as those of Royce and James suggests that the author adheres to a rather narrow pre-Parrington conception of literary history. He sets literary heroes and heroines against their immediate social backgrounds. Mr. Brooks does much tramping up and down the streets and in and out of the clubs of Boston. He introduces the reader to the persons with whom Henry Adams and Charles Eliot Norton associated. But in general in his treatment of background he does not venture far beyond the street where Emily Dickinson lived or the circle that surrounded Aldrich. The result is a sparkling book, crowded with interesting people. But his picture has little perspective either in a social or intellectual sense. He has only faint suggestions of the reorientation taking place in American thought between Apomattox and the Lafayette Escadrille. An industrial revolution was in progress. Nationalism, both in the sense of developing ideas of the functions

of the Federal government and of a changing outlook in foreign affairs, was undergoing swift evolution. Science and new philosophies stemming from it were transforming some of the most basic assumptions of American thought. This larger background is absent from *New England: Indian Summer*. As a result Mr. Brooks, though he shows his people in action, gives only the vaguest clues to the significance of their lives and thought. It is clear that, for him, literary history is not the history of ideas.

There can be no quarrel with this decision, for literature is, primarily, an art. But if the literary historian avoids responsibility for sharing in that most difficult task of exploring the drift and evolution of ideas, he may justly be called upon to examine and present the development of canons and standards of his art. His subject is then art, and he deals with his people as artists, good or bad. One of his tasks is to defend his inclusions and omissions, that is, to discuss the standard to be used to distinguish between literary and sub-literary writing. Why is Emerson's *Nature* literature and Royce's *The Philosophy of Loyalty* not literature? Literary history, centering on the problem of aesthetic standards, could be developed into criticism of the most valuable type. Perhaps this is the true function of literary history. Yet Mr. Brooks avoids the problem of standards almost as completely as that of the history of ideas.

Stimulating as in many ways it is and useful as it is for its descriptions of individuals, *New England: Indian Summer* is little more than sophisticated antiquarianism. It is to be hoped that the pattern will not be followed by Mr. Brooks's successors.

Yale University.

RALPH H. GABRIEL.

The Battle for Municipal Reform: Mobilization and Attack, 1875 to 1900.

By CLIFFORD W. PATTON. Introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger. (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs. 1940. Pp. 91. Cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.)

THIS is the story of the long-drawn-out fight for decent city government which marked the closing decades of the nineteenth century. It begins with a description of things as they were in the dark ages of American municipal history, summarizing the more or less familiar tales of corruption and crookedness, of boodling and boondoggling, of Tweed Rings and gas-house gangs, of graft both honest and otherwise. It is a sordid story of machine politics and civic indifference abetted by the most remarkable growth in urban population and prosperity that the world has ever seen. Great cities doubled within a decade; their needs outran their governments; and people were more concerned about getting essential civic services than in figuring the cost. So budgets shot skyward, and municipal debts kept them company. Extravagance went unrebuked, and grafters of all varieties took advantage of this largess to gather in their share.

The author sets forth his explanations of the "basic conditions and

causes" which made this orgy of misgovernment possible. These do not differ from what has been written in many books at greater length. The tides of immigration which inundated the tenement wards, the evil of state interference in local affairs, the complex structure of the old city governments—they doubtless had their part. Most of the book, however, deals with the ways in which these conditions and causes were overcome. Starting as a sort of guerilla warfare against the entrenched spoilsmen, the campaign for municipal reform made very little progress for a dozen years or more. It was not until after the close of this book's survey that the assault gained momentum and began to register important gains. So this little volume is not a narrative of victory but of mobilization as a prelude to ultimate success. As such it is not a very inspiring recital, for the fight was a long and discouraging one, with plenty of reversals and setbacks. One gains from it, however, some idea of the immense difficulties involved in uprooting evils that have become securely entrenched. But there were valiant hearts who kept at it undismayed, and we of today are reaping the rewards of their long-sustained effort.

The author tells his story in considerable detail and fortifies his statements with references aplenty. To condense the strategy and tactics of a quarter-century battle into a book of ninety pages, however, has necessitated his using a catalogue style of writing which will hardly send his readers into raptures.

Pasadena, California.

WILLIAM B. MUNRO.

Bureaucracy convicts itself: The Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy of 1910. By ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON. (New York: Viking Press. 1941. Pp. 224. \$2.50.)

It has not been adequately recognized that the famous "Ballinger affair" of 1909-10 involved a great deal more than the personal integrity of any of its principals. Henry F. Pringle, for example, made it perfectly clear, in his biography of Taft, that the President meant no assault upon American liberties in giving support to his Secretary of the Interior's conservation policies. And Professor Mason himself admits, in the present volume, that Taft's complicity in acts which seriously compromised him (the predating of one official document and the ghostwriting which another entailed) was not unprecedented (p. 183). Yet such facts in themselves speak neither for nor against the role of the administration in the conservation fight. It is the circumstances surrounding the affair, rather than the actions or attitudes of any one of its participants, which must determine one's judgment of it.

The basic issue of the Ballinger-Pinchot affair has two sides: one, the validity of the criticism which progressives and muckrakers directed against the Taft administration, the other, the sincerity of the administration's conservation policy and its willingness to tolerate free public discussion. As Professor Mason writes: "The Ballinger case is . . . significant chiefly as an

incident in the American struggle for democracy, the battle of the people against privilege" (p. 186). It is doubly important, therefore, that his monograph should in the main rely upon the four months' testimony taken before a joint congressional investigating committee and comprising the official record of the case.

Needless to say, so voluminous a record, which fills thirteen volumes, includes the conflicting assertions of partisan witnesses. It does not fail to provide material for more than one interpretation. Professor Mason, however, though he writes (as his title suggests) from the progressive point of view, avoids no question and brings into relief those which most readily challenge attention: the validity of the so-called "Cunningham claims", the interest of a Morgan-Guggenheim syndicate in those claims, and Secretary of the Interior Ballinger's connection with them. Above all, Professor Mason treats thoroughly the administration's general attitude toward conservation as well as the responsibility of such fighters on the other side as Chief Forester Pinchot, Norman Hapgood of *Collier's*, and Louis R. Glavis, the then young General Land Office agent whose persistence brought on the entire struggle.

Professor Mason has taken into full account the version of events which Mr. Pringle presented in his life of Taft and also the article by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, inspired by Mr. Pringle's version, which appeared as "Not Guilty!" in the *Saturday Evening Post* for May 25, 1940. *Bureaucracy convicts itself*, then, enables the reader to acquaint himself with the problem of this case in its complete and challenging form.

The book is written with care and distinction. The text is enlivened with contemporary illustrations culled from a variety of sources. There is a "bibliographical note", covering all original and secondary sources, and a comprehensive index.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

LOUIS FILLER.

Our Contemporary Composers: American Music in the Twentieth Century.

By JOHN TASKER HOWARD, with the assistance of ARTHUR MENDEL. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1941. Pp. xv, 447. \$3.50.)

IN this highly detailed volume of 447 pages Mr. Howard brings up to date the information provided in his well-known earlier volume, *Our American Music*. By it he wins our lasting gratitude for what must long remain the standard authority in its field, prepared with exemplary care and accuracy.

Admirable as a reference book, it is not quite so satisfactory when what we seek is less mere facts than impressions, characterizations, orientations—in short, critical appraisal and guidance in an art field bewilderingly complex. Just what is each of these "composers" like, not as a member of a school or group but in himself? What does he "compose" and how? What is he trying to say? And how persuasively has he said it? Biographical data,

lists of works, pseudointellectual credos and formulae, cannot satisfy us when we begin asking such fundamental questions. And unfortunately Mr. Howard's practice of citing the pot shots of journalists, hastily discharged after concerts of "First Performances", tends to confuse rather than clarify counsel, to short-circuit criticism, and to infuse into his book too much of the superficiality and smug ephemerality of newspapers. Only in part can this unfortunate impression be corrected by a good many shrewd comments of his own and of real critics like Lawrence Gilman and D. F. Tovey. Hence as we leaf through his fat book, passing name after name that remains to us only a name, theory after theory that is only *about* music, not music itself, it is no wonder if we are left with the final impression of the American musical scene as a hurly-burly, a traffic jam, a mapless anarchy—an impression, after all, perhaps not far from the truth.

The book improves as it goes on. Least vividly characterized are the older composers—some will say because they are the least characteristic, though others may feel it is because their music is least mixed with extra-musical elements. The most spirited chapters are those on "Experimenters" (Ruggles, Ives, Riegger, Cowell, Varèse, Virgil Thomson, Blitzstein) and "Folk-song and Racial Expressions" (Skilton, Powell, Grainger, William Grant Still, and others). Even here the author seems to shrink nervously at times from applying to the limit his own insights. Thus he gives a whole chapter to jazz in spite of having asked pertinently quite early in the book (p. 149) whether it is anything more than animal excitement and of having quoted Constant Lambert's excellent definition of it as "a reflection of the nerves, sex-repressions, inferiority complexes, and general dreariness of the modern world" (p. 308).

More seriously, he seems seldom to understand and discount the phobias that make most modernists so deadly afraid of tradition and thereby so perverse, self-limited, and sterile. Thus he can apparently praise Cowell for "not deliberately breaking the rules of harmony . . . but simply not learning them", proceeding solemnly to commend him for paying "no attention to prejudices . . . such as the notion that the keyboard is the part of the piano that should be used for tone-production". He can quote, seemingly without being reminded of Canute and the ocean, a comment that Piston "fights desperately the tonic-dominant complex". He can even cite with a straight face a priceless concentration of snobbism emanating from Ruth Crawford's husband: "Her music might very well find a permanent place in a small repertoire of an intellectual sort for a particular group of people who were interested in that sort of thing."

Yet here again he can occasionally prick these bubbles with unexpected and delightful shafts of humor—the kind of humor that penetrates so far by suggesting so much more than it says. When Varèse, in his answer to our author's questionnaire, exclaims: "Right-wing, liberal, left-wing, applied to any Art, what nonsense! I try to fly on my own wings", our author sud-

denly finds that his head as well as his heart is in the right place, and he comments: "Opinions may vary on how high Varèse has flown; but nobody will accuse him of not having used his own wings—especially his left!"

Altogether Mr. Howard has given us a friendly and stimulating as well as an indefatigably well-documented book.

Columbia University.

DANIEL GREGORY MASON.

Secret Societies: A Cultural Study of Fraternalism in the United States.

By NOEL P. GIST, Associate Professor of Sociology. Foreword by Melville J. Herskovits, Professor of Anthropology, Northwestern University. [University of Missouri Studies.] (Columbia: University of Missouri. 1940. Pp. 184. \$1.25.)

PROFESSOR Gist has limited his study to the nonrevolutionary and less militant "benevolent and fraternal secret orders" in the United States, giving only passing mention to insurrectionary groups like the Knights of the Golden Circle, the Fenian Brotherhood, and the Molly Maguires. Politically oriented groups like the Knights of Labor and the Ku Klux Klan receive somewhat more attention, but there is a tendency to dismiss such "crisis groups" as relatively short-lived and inconsequential.

Maintaining that most American fraternal orders "tend to be conservative or even reactionary and therefore to resist social change", Professor Gist proceeds to describe the "culture pattern" of these social groups. His interest is primarily focused upon their present similarities—their cultural common denominators—rather than their differences or the "cultural change" which their own histories might reveal.

Thus, after classifying secret societies into thirteen categories and noting that the membership rolls of many have suffered a decline since 1930, the author illustrates the general patterns he observes in their governmental structure, legends of origin, ritualism and symbolism, selection and control of members, dogma and doctrine, economic and social functions. The Masonic lodge, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, and the Red Men are most often used for such illustrative purposes, but scattered reference is made to more than a hundred other organized groups.

Hardly more than illustrative, too, of the literature in the field is the appended bibliography, which, nevertheless, is a useful list of works and honestly reveals the author's source materials.

While it is written by a professional sociologist as a typical study of a "culture pattern", students of American social history will find in this scholarly essay a valuable contribution to our knowledge of "institutional fraternalism" more, perhaps, than of "organized secrecy". For one cannot read Professor Gist's study without noticing how small a part secrecy plays in the total "culture complex" of our so-called secret societies. Important culture traits—the creeds, which "usually emphasize the conventional moral

and social values", so that the societies become "bulwarks of the status quo", and the social functions performed by organizing mutual aid—these are seldom secret. The grips, passwords, and initiations, which still retain a semisecrecy, are little more than window dressing or "promotional devices in the selling of insurance and similar benefits".

Shippensburg State Teachers College. EMERSON H. LOUCKS.

The Struggle for Judicial Supremacy: A Study of a Crisis in American Power Politics. By ROBERT H. JACKSON. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1941. Pp. xx, 361, iv. \$3.00.)

Our Constitution: Tool or Testament? By BERYL HAROLD LEVY. With an Introduction by ROBERT H. JACKSON. (*Ibid.* Pp. xviii, 315, vii. \$3.00.)

THESE books by Mr. Jackson and Mr. Levy have much more in common than the fact that one of them was written by the newly appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court while the other contains an approving introduction by him. Both of them have their roots in the struggle against conservative judicial supremacy that began or, more properly speaking, was revived during the 1920's by Justices Holmes and Brandeis, usually with the support of Justice Stone. The conservative wing of the court, including Justices Van Devanter, McReynolds, Sutherland, and Butler, was using the power of judicial veto to bring about a "return to normalcy" more fundamental than any proposed by Warren G. Harding in his campaign for the presidency in 1920. "Justices Holmes, Brandeis and Stone dissenting" became a characteristic term in the descriptions of a long line of Supreme Court decisions affecting the rights of property. Justice Holmes declared that the court had no right to use the interpretation of vague phrases in the Constitution as a means of substituting the economic beliefs of members of the court for those of state and Federal legislators. Justice Brandeis demonstrated in case after case that particular pieces of legislation rejected by a majority of the court not only promoted public welfare but could be justified in terms of the Constitution.

These dissenting opinions failed to convince any of the conservative members of the court, but they obtained a hearing throughout the country. Young liberals in many walks of life aligned themselves with the dissenting judges in criticism of the tactics of a majority of the court. The criticism found expression in publications of various kinds, including articles in even the more conservative law reviews. It was linked with past criticisms of earlier judicial invasions of legislative and executive prerogatives voiced in terms of denunciation of government by judiciary. The ground was amply prepared, therefore, for the court reform movement, initiated by the President now in office, so to change the personnel of the Supreme Court as to eliminate judicial obstruction to an administration program deemed necessary to the welfare of the nation.

Mr. Jackson's book summarizes the history of the accumulation of power by the Supreme Court as against the other two major branches of the government and analyzes in detail the provocations which led to the court reform movement. He continues the criticism of judicial supremacy, regarding it not merely as an exception in an otherwise representative governmental system but as undemocratic as well. Mr. Levy's book consists of four essays built round the judicial careers of four justices, Marshall, Taney, Holmes, and Brandeis, and a fifth essay dealing with the court today. He deals with Marshall as one of the great acquirers of power and with the other three justices as men who have exercised more than the usual amount of judicial self-restraint. Mr. Levy is not primarily concerned with biography, however, and neither he nor Mr. Jackson is primarily concerned with the history of the Supreme Court. Both of them use history for the purpose of making a case against judicial dominance in the government. Both are New Deal liberals, and both are enthusiastic about the changes in Supreme Court attitudes brought about by appointments recently made. Both are of the impression that Supreme Court interference with the administration now in power is not likely to be serious, but they admit that in other times the struggle between the court and the other branches of the government may be resumed.

Mr. Jackson offers no protective device for the future except that of eternal vigilance. Mr. Levy advocates a device much discussed in years past; namely, the requirement of more than a mere majority of the court to invalidate a legislative act. Coupled with that device he would embody in a statute the so-called "presumption of constitutionality", the presumption that a legislative act is constitutional unless so clearly in conflict with the Constitution that reasonable men cannot accept it as constitutional. In spite of the fact that the most ardent lip service has been paid to the doctrine at the very times when the court was striking down legislation as unconstitutional, Mr. Levy believes that giving it a statutory base would aid in protecting legislation. He is unwilling, however, to apply uniformly the rule that a legislative act cannot be invalidated by a mere majority of the court. In cases involving civil liberties he would permit a mere majority to strike down legislation which it believed an interference with civil rights. Yet, having taken this position, he admits that the line to be drawn between personal rights and property rights is hard to be discovered and that such an arrangement must inevitably lead to confusion.

Both books are provocative. That of Mr. Jackson is a particularly stimulating study of the judicial process, written with a background of sound knowledge of the entire history of the struggle for judicial supremacy, even though with an obvious bias in favor of the New Deal.

Johns Hopkins University.

CARL BRENT SWISHER.

Hands Off: A History of the Monroe Doctrine. By DEXTER PERKINS. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1941. Pp. xii, 455. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Perkins has already made himself an international reputation as the world's most scholarly authority on the Monroe Doctrine by the publication of three successive brilliant monographs on that subject covering the years 1822-26, 1826-67, and 1867-1906. These three volumes, based in large measure on multi-archival research (insofar as governmental authorities made such investigation possible) are not likely to be superseded. The period 1906 to the present time, of course, will await the historian when the archives are opened fully; and who can be more appropriate than Mr. Perkins to be that historian? Meanwhile he has distilled his unrivaled erudition on the subject into this one volume, which is an abridgment of the three earlier studies plus an extension, based mostly on printed documents of the Department of State, to cover the years 1906 to 1940, and which presents some highly valuable interpretative conclusions. No more adequate single volume on the subject is likely to be written for a long time.

In his previous studies the author has deliberately, studiously, most positively, and repeatedly dubbed the Monroe Doctrine "the great American shibboleth". Now he carefully eschews this characterization. This phrase would be certainly as offensive to today's climate of opinion as it was interesting to yesterday's. To persist now in calling the Monroe Doctrine a great American shibboleth would dismay and shock the general reader, for whom this book is fashioned, more even than a display of footnotes, which the author and publishers deferentially relegate to an awkward hiding place in the rear of the book. It would also shock this reviewer, who feels eased and pleased at the disappearance of the vitiating phrase from Mr. Perkins's otherwise judicious and admirable vocabulary and his robust and exhilarating style. To Mr. Perkins today the history of the Monroe Doctrine means what it has always meant to this reviewer and, I think, to the American people: what his title indicates, *Hands Off* the New World.

Of detailed critical comment the following points may be mentioned. There is not adequate emphasis on the no-transfer principle as antedating the Monroe Doctrine and being a part of its origin; the author does mention the resolution of Congress of 1811, but only glancingly, and does not go back of that for the history of this principle, as one easily could do, at least to the Nootka Sound Controversy of 1790. He misses the significance of the sectional crisis of 1850 in explaining the heavy concessions from the Monroe Doctrine made in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of that year. He is amazed at the exaggerated caution of the Senate in attaching to the Hague arbitration convention of 1899 a "Monroe Doctrine" reservation, yet he makes no mention of the *démarche* of the six ambassadors to President McKinley on the eve of the Spanish-American War, so well described in Mr. Orestes Ferrara's recent study. He dubs Elihu Root a "wavering", rather

than an unwavering, friend of peace. He does not call attention to the emergency clause in the still-unratified Havana Convention of 1940, by which a party to it may act even before ratification of the treaty by the stipulated two thirds of the signatories. The bibliographical references in the back of the book are too general or too obscure to suit several other scholars who have made not unworthy contributions to the history of the doctrine.

Really, though, these—and other more debatable points—are relatively minor matters, to be brought up only in a professional journal like this. Perkins is “the best thing there is” on the Monroe Doctrine and is likely to remain so for many years. Professor Perkins not only deserves well of the general reader; he has also given a short cut and wide understanding to the general scholar; and in days like these he has done a real public service. Most healthy to these times is his exegesis stressing the fact that, while the Monroe Doctrine counseled keeping out of the wars of European powers in matters relating to themselves, it did say that when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced we resent injuries and make preparations for our defense. While the doctrine of the two separate political spheres of the New World and the Old World was the basis of the Monroe Doctrine, concludes this outstanding authority, it was not the Monroe Doctrine itself.

Yale University.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

Ambassador Dodd's Diary, 1933-1938. Edited by WILLIAM E. DODD, JR., and MARTHA DODD. With an Introduction by Charles A. Beard. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1941. Pp. xvi, 464. \$3.50.)

THIS diary is perhaps unique in that it was published soon enough after the events it describes to have considerable influence on American public opinion regarding the immediately sequential events. Herein lies its best-seller appeal; herein lies its weakness. Did Ambassador Dodd himself plan to publish the diary so as to arouse the American people to their peril and at the same time provide an apologia for his own conduct? The general tone of the book suggests the former motive; the last two autobiographical pages, to say nothing of other passages, clearly suggest the latter. The putative editors dedicate the volume to their “beloved father, teacher and friend, who kept the democratic faith in an age of betrayal”—words which indicate that the diary has been published for a purpose. Not only is there no preface or statement of editorial policy, but there are no footnotes or brackets, although a considerable amount of translated and other explanatory material has obviously been interpolated. Who inserted this? What else has been inserted? There are also quite proper omissions of the names of still-living persons, although in only one case has the omission been indicated by a blank. What else has been eliminated? Quite often the diary skips one day or several days; sometimes as much as several weeks or months. In a few instances Mr. Dodd indicates that he has fallen behind; in the others no explanation is vouchsafed. Three speeches that he gave in Germany were

regarded as of sufficient importance to warrant notice in the *New York Times*. Yet the diary ignores them. There is an entry for the day Mr. Dodd changed his official residence, though no mention of this removal. Was the ambassador, in spite of his training as a historian and his precise recording of detail, an intermittent diarist? Or did the editors intentionally leave out material because it was unimportant, uninteresting, or contrary to the immediate purposes to be subserved? The historian can but regret that the presumed demands of a popular market have robbed the serious student of critical and competent editorial work.

The contents of the diary are most uneven in value. For one who chronicles the events of American diplomacy there is little of even second-rate importance. The explanation appears to be that Mr. Dodd's principal tasks were negative: interceding for persecuted American Jews and urging payment of interest on defaulted bonds. Much of the book consists of gossip and speculation picked up from fellow occupants of the Berlin whispering gallery; much consists of Mr. Dodd's own prognostications, chiefly regarding the inevitable war. In some of these he was wrong; in others right; on the whole more right than wrong. As early as 1934 it was clear to the diarist, as well as to the British and French representatives, that the Nazis were madly rearming; equally clear are the workings at cross purposes of England and France. Perhaps the most valuable part of the book consists of Mr. Dodd's conversations with Hitler, Von Neurath, Schacht, and other German leaders. But even these add little to the general outline of events and for the most part confirm what we already knew.

To fellow members of the historical guild the book is perhaps most interesting in what it reveals of its author. At the twilight of a distinguished academic career, without diplomatic experience or independent means, Mr. Dodd was commissioned to carry the democratic torch of Jefferson and Wilson across the Atlantic into an atmosphere of wire-tapping distrust. He disliked career diplomats, especially rich ones; he chafed under the bureaucracy of the State Department; he was bored by diplomatic functions and scandalized by their expense. He was at home only with people of "his kind"; and he had a certain intolerance for those who did not know history. Probably his greatest success was in helping to rally the dying liberalism of Germany for a temporary stand. Less successful were his relations with the Nazi rulers ("murderers"), who reciprocated his ill-concealed antipathy. Snubbed, pessimistic, and sick, the disillusioned ambassador came home knowing that he had failed but consoling himself with the thought that anyone else would have failed. Possibly so. But can we be sure that in the middle thirties Hitler was moving toward a policy of aggressive imperialism? Reunion of the German people and a return of the German colonies were, of course, desired; but could not a compromise with England and France have been worked out with regard to the larger issue of Europe's balance of power? We shall never know; but some readers will feel that a

flexible, tactful, and experienced diplomat could have made the influence of the United States felt to better advantage during these crucial years.

Stanford University.

THOMAS A. BAILEY.

Government and the Needy: A Study of Public Assistance in New Jersey.

By PAUL TUTT STAFFORD. [Princeton Survey of New Jersey Finance, Cromwell Studies in Government and Finance.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 328. \$3.00.)

THE author of this critique of public assistance in New Jersey is assistant professor of politics in Princeton University. He has long been a keen student of government in his state, especially as related to public welfare.

Dr. Stafford projects his analysis of the present organizational framework and programs for the care of the needy against their historical background. Many of today's difficulties are laid to the persistence of old poor-law concepts and methods which have come down from colonial times without fundamental change. In the author's words:

The refusal to recognize large-scale relief as a permanent governmental function and the failure to incorporate it into the permanent machinery of government represent the stubborn survival of those same attitudes upon which the old poor-law system itself had been founded and developed. . . . Fundamental adjustment of the mechanism of public relief-giving to modern needs and conditions is a problem which, after a decade of enormous effort, still remains unsolved.

This indictment of the present is made in spite of the legislation of 1940, which, the author says, created some improvement but failed entirely to eliminate basic weaknesses.

The principal organic weaknesses of the public assistance mechanism—Federal work programs included—are found to be “excessive and illogical division of relief responsibilities among the three levels of government” and “lack of administrative and financial stability”. Illustrating the first point, the author enumerates eight different types of assistance involving “several different sets of authorities all more or less independent of one another”. The result is that the relief system “literally defies public comprehension; it is a source of mystery to most legislators”.

“The philosophy of impermanence” has characterized the attitude toward general relief and Federal work programs. “A liberal policy toward the unemployed one year is followed by a non-liberal one the next. Administration is disrupted by the sudden and sporadic slashing of federal appropriations”. The author contends that state policy with regard to general relief is no less uncertain, and state relief financing still “consists of a hodgepodge of borrowing, fund transferral, and current revenue devices”. Relief remains “a political football”.

Those interested in public welfare administration in all parts of the

nation will find Dr. Stafford's penetrating analysis of New Jersey's complicated pattern eminently worth reading: the sore spots he probes so relentlessly with regard to his own state have their counterparts the country over. The very practical steps toward integration, stabilized administration, and financial sanity proposed in the chapter, "The Lines of Reform", will likewise be a profitable subject of study far beyond the boundaries of New Jersey.

New York State Department of Social Welfare. LEONARD F. REQUA, JR.

Sharecroppers All. By ARTHUR F. RAPER and IRA DE A. REID. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. x, 281. \$3.00.)

Two practitioners of applied sociology offer in this book about the best streamlined review of the ills of the South that has been presented. They write on the basis of research, reading, observation, contact, and experience. They have gathered material in library, office, home, and field. They cover hill and delta, town and country, man and land. As seasoned writers they escape completely from academic dullness even in handling statistics. They use cases and personal incidents, at times with a bit too much dramatic effect. They frankly discuss race and class and the modern edition of the Ku Klux Klan. They do not write history, but they dip into the past for the roots of the present. With broad sweeps their eighteen chapters deal not only with farming but also with industry, commerce, labor education, religion, and politics. There is a chapter on the impact of the New Deal on the region. A Negro farmer is quoted as saying, "Oh, the New Deal? . . . It's done been by here." Several striking photographic illustrations are supplied by the information division of the Farm Security Administration.

The term "sharecropper" is used by these authors both literally and figuratively. The South has actual sharecropper farmers, who are both insecure and dependent, dependent upon others for land and all other elements of production except labor. But in spirit virtually the whole economy of the region is a sharecropper economy. There is absentee ownership in industry, as in agriculture, with local overseers directed by remote control. As cheap labor has moved from farm to factory, it has moved into another, but not different, paternalistic pattern. On the whole economic front Negro labor has been paid low wages, and, in consequence, the wages of white labor have been kept down. And then low industrial wages seem comparatively high to great numbers of workers released from the poverty-stricken countryside. Such workers, accustomed to "boss man" paternalism since time immemorial, frequently become antagonistic rather than sympathetic toward labor union leaders and organizers, who, in turn, become "agitators". The C.I.O. has been especially denounced, since it has sought to organize the unorganized and has welcomed Negroes into its ranks. Aside from strike troubles there have been beatings of organizers because

they were organizers, with the "law" siding with employers because they were employers.

The Raper-Reid picture is a picture of gross waste of physical and human resources, of soil erosion and human erosion. It is a picture of all sorts of differentials against the South and of differentials against groups in the South. One cannot deny these ugly facts. One can only say that the authors looked for sharecropping and found it in abundance. They recognize other facts and other trends but with not enough emphasis to give hope. They might say more about successful farming of both large-scale and small-scale types. They might say more about the progress of collective bargaining, for instance, in the Birmingham district, with decreases in regional wage differentials. But their picture is of economic sin, and they are "agin it".

Vanderbilt University.

H. CLARENCE NIXON.

The Diplomatic History of the Canadian Boundary, 1749-1763. By MAX SAVELLE. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv, 172. \$2.50.)

THIS modest-appearing volume should not be treated lightly by the student of American colonial history. It is a penetrating study of a period of the most intense diplomatic activity relating to North America and the West Indies that can be found at any time from the first settlement of the New World by the Europeans to the establishment of the independence of the thirteen British continental colonies. Before 1749, doubtless by reason of the great stake in immediate European developments, England and France in their diplomatic negotiations with one another had given but secondary consideration to questions involving overseas possessions. This was even true of the period of the War of the Spanish Succession and that of the Austrian Succession. But after 1749 and until 1763 America looms large, and other interests, likewise involving international negotiation, tend to fall somewhat into the background.

The first really important study of the diplomacy directly relating to North America and covering the period under consideration was made by Professor Theodore C. Pease. His elaborate essay, of approximately the same length as the book under review, appeared in 1936 as an introduction to the volume of documents that he edited under the title, *Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West, 1749-1763*. As this implies, the essay is chiefly concerned with matters involving the Mississippi Valley, and it therefore tends somewhat although not entirely to ignore other aspects of New World diplomacy. Professor Savelle, on the other hand, and very rightly from the point of view of the reviewer, has so developed his study as to embrace far

more than merely the history of the "Canadian boundary". He ranges freely not only into the Mississippi Valley but also into the Caribbean. The justification for this lies in the fact that there was not one issue involving the New World facing Great Britain and France but a number of issues that were considered to have a vital connection one with the other. These involved the limits of Acadia, ceded to Great Britain in 1714, the control of the Lake Champlain—Lake George region; the degree of influence to be exercised by either power over the Six Nations; the question of the presence of the English at Oswego and of the French at Presqu' Isle and at Le Boeuf; the ownership of the Ohio Valley; and the respective rights to St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. Dealt with concomitantly, many of these issues were considered in the same letter or memorial. In fact, the French court took the position that all must be settled on one comprehensive agreement and not piecemeal, as it were.

Professor Savelle has, therefore, recognized the obligation placed upon him to give a coherent account of the tangled diplomatic maneuvering by means of which it was hoped on both sides between 1749 and 1756 that a resort to war might be avoided, and he has been signally successful in his task as well as in his treatment of the peace negotiations at the conclusion of hostilities.

In his analysis of the activities of the Paris joint commission that sat between the years 1750 and 1755 in a futile but earnest effort to reach an agreement, we have the first scholarly account of its work—thanks to the abundant materials now available to students here in America, most important of which are the Mildmay and Shelburne Papers in the Clements Library. However, this commission, it should be made clear, was, in spite of the comprehensive French objective, never called upon to deal with more than two distinct issues among those enumerated above: that having to do with the limits of ancient Acadia and that relating to conflicting claims to the so-called "neutral islands", in connection with which the emphasis was almost exclusively upon St. Lucia. All issues, nevertheless, were ultimately taken up through the channels of direct diplomacy, with increased emphasis upon those involving the Ohio country.

The author, maintaining an admirable attitude of judicial poise throughout his study, has come to the conclusions that the British pretensions with respect to the true limits of Acadia or Nova Scotia were sounder than were the French and—in harmony with Professor Osgood—that the French pretensions to the upper Ohio Valley were, on the whole, superior to those of the British. The reviewer is unable, after a rather exhaustive study of the available evidence, to agree with the latter conclusion. The book is furnished with a number of valuable maps.

Lehigh University.

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON.

Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in Central and North America and the Caribbean. By GORDON IRELAND, Professor of Law, Portia Law School. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xiii, 432. \$4.50.)

THIS is a companion volume to the author's previous work, published in 1938, on South America and the islands adjacent thereto. Like the previous volume, this one falls into three divisions: disputes and adjustments regarding mainland boundaries; controversies and settlements in respect to island possessions; and treaty relations involving pledges of pacific settlement. Boundary disputes between the United States and Canada, on the one hand, and the United States and Mexico, on the other, are naturally included, as well as territorial disagreements between the United States and other nations of the Western Hemisphere or nations having or claiming possessions therein. Disputes between the United States and France and the United States and Spain regarding mainland boundaries and possessions in the continent of North America are dealt with, strangely enough, in the section on Mexico and the United States (pp. 294-301). The task undertaken by Professor Ireland in these two volumes was one of great magnitude; and it was apparently too vast for the time and resources at his command.

The volume under review is an important contribution which cannot fail to invoke the gratitude of those interested in the field. But in several respects it is imperfect. Some of the summaries are inaccurate, superficial, and misleading; and the bibliographical references, while nearly always valuable, are often far from complete. The footnotes, for instance, do not refer to many pertinent publications of such scholars as Dana Munro, Isaac J. Cox, Chester Lloyd Jones, Thomas M. Marshall, J. M. Callahan, William D. McCain, L. L. Montague, Arthur P. Whitaker, Roy Nichols, Charles C. Tansill, and the present reviewer, to say nothing of the author's failure to cite a number of Latin-American writers who have made important contributions to the subject.

The volume will be most valuable to careful investigators who use it with caution and awareness that they are not consulting a definitive work but a sort of preliminary guide. The text is illuminated by some sixteen maps and diagrams. These and the general appearance of the work reflect credit on the Harvard University Press. It is unfortunate, however, that the advice of some competent expert was not secured before final publication. The subjects dealt with are significant, and it is clear that Professor Ireland and his research assistants have labored assiduously. It is a pity that the final product did not receive the additional attention required to make its quality equal to its magnitude.

University of Chicago.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Coronado's Quest: The Discovery of the Southwestern States. By A. GROVE DAY. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 419. \$2.50.)

Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542. By GEORGE P. HAMMOND, the University of New Mexico, and AGAPITO REY, Indiana University. [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 413. \$3.50.)

Coronado's Seven Cities. By GEORGE P. HAMMOND. Foreword by Clinton P. Anderson. (Albuquerque: United States Coronado Exposition Commission. 1940. Pp. iv, 82.)

THE four hundredth anniversary of Coronado's expedition has been the occasion for the appearance of a number of new books dealing with that great epic of the American Southwest. Three of these works treated here have distinct merits in their respective fields of endeavor.

Coronado's Quest presents, in a popular style, the most readable story yet written of the explorations and adventures of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. In addition to describing the *entrada* itself the author develops adequately its historical background. The account is based upon the principal printed materials pertaining to the subject with the exception of *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, published subsequently. The explorations of Coronado, Alarcón, Cárdenas, and Díaz are outlined upon an interesting map entitled "Discoveries of the Coronado Expedition". This map is based upon researches of Hodge, Sauer, and Winship as well as upon the author's personal observations. Mainly because of insufficient data contained in documents now known, Coronado's exact route, especially in its eastern phases, remains an open question. Only discovery of additional manuscripts, such as Coronado's own reports, or a minute examination of the terrain can bring about a more accurate delineation of Coronado's line of travel.

Criticisms of *Coronado's Quest* are few, but the reviewer disagrees with the description of Coronado as "the last of the great conquistadores". He was not a great conqueror, nor was he the last. Valdivia in Chile, Irala in Paraguay, and Garay in Argentina were active after 1542. Even the brother of Coronado, Juan Vázquez, might be mentioned for his exploits in Costa Rica. In general the book is historically more accurate than the author's fictionalized style would sometimes indicate. One reviewer questioned as too imaginative a description of heaps of buffalo bones upon the plains without realizing that this passage was taken literally from Castañeda's narrative.

Mr. Day's book is highly recommended to the reading public. Especially should it be a boon to teachers of Southwestern history, who have long desired for their reading lists an entertaining as well as a sound account of the Coronado exploit. A chronological table, a bibliography, and an index add to the usefulness of the book for teaching purposes.

Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542, is a scholarly and painstaking work which performs a much needed service. Here, in one volume, all available documents dealing directly with Coronado have been brought together in English translations. Coronado's expedition has long and continuously attracted historians. In 1556, only two years after the death of Coronado, Ramusio published Italian translations of certain manuscripts pertaining to the great *entrada*. Spanish, French, and American historians have gradually unearthed and published additional materials. The most important recent discovery was made by Professor Arthur S. Aiton in 1936, when he found Coronado's muster roll in the Archivo General de Indias. The work of Professors Hammond and Rey represents the total accumulation to date, including material relative to the trials of Coronado and Cárdenas heretofore unpublished. The editors have not been content with a mere compilation. Wherever possible they have secured photostatic copies of the original manuscripts and through them have corrected numerous previous errors in transcription and translation. A valuable glossary and index are appended, but there is no bibliography. The work is adequately annotated. It is Volume II of a series of twelve volumes planned by the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission of New Mexico.

Coronado's Seven Cities was written as a result of the Federal government's participation in the Coronado celebration. The law which created the United States Coronado Exposition Commission specified that a booklet describing the expedition should be published. Professor Hammond was selected for the work—with fortunate results. His *Coronado's Seven Cities* is a concise, rapidly moving account of the expedition. Writing to order, the author has stripped his narrative of all trappings of scholarship. Footnotes, bibliography, and index were omitted. Details which do not contribute to the essentials of the story have been excluded. Although brief the booklet is thorough and accurate. The author has admirably demonstrated his ability to synthesize a wide knowledge gained by preparation of *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition* and by many years of research in Southwestern history.

University of California.

LAWRENCE KINNAIRD.

A History of Chile. By LUIS GALDAMES. Translated and edited by ISAAC JOSLIN COX, Professor of History in Northwestern University. [The Inter-American Historical Series, edited by James A. Robertson.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 565. \$5.00.)

THIS is the fourth volume to be published of the Inter-American Historical series, and of the histories selected for the series it is one of the most worthy of inclusion. The Spanish original, Luis Galdames's *Estudio de la historia de Chile*, has been used as a secondary-school text in Chile for thirty-five years, has gone through eight editions, and is the best text in its field.

To some extent it is a condensation of the many volumes by Diego Barros Arana; but Señor Galdames, who is a scholar as well as an educator, has added thoughtful touches to the borrowed material besides doing research for recent times on his own account. His work is well balanced, and each new edition has been a challenge to greater factual accuracy. The volume begins with the primitive inhabitants of the country and traces the political, economic, industrial, and social development down to 1938, when the eighth edition was published. Though he has written in a generally nonpartisan spirit, Señor Galdames does not attempt to conceal his liberal, progressive sympathies.

Dr. Cox, the editor and translator, based the present translation first on the sixth edition (1925) but later revised and compared his manuscript with the seventh and eighth editions. He added a number of paragraphs, marked by brackets, to the chapter on "Democratic Orientation", thus bringing the political narrative through July, 1940. In general, the organization of the volume follows that of the original, but a few of the chapters were combined by the editor, and some of the subheads were made more concise. It is a sympathetic translation, written, like Señor Galdames's Spanish version, in simple, direct, but pleasing style, as becomes a book intended for secondary-school students.

The text is clarified by occasional footnotes supplied by Dr. Cox. Three maps and numerous pictures add to the interest and value of the volume, which includes a new feature not found in earlier issues of the series—biographical sketches, arranged alphabetically, of the persons mentioned in the book. This handy dictionary covers ninety-four pages. There are a good classified bibliography and a satisfactory index.

This is the best general history in English relating to Chile and is a credit alike to Señor Galdames, Professor Cox, Dr. Robertson, and the University of North Carolina Press.

Goucher College.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Kurs istochnikovedeniya istorii SSSR [sources for the history of the U. S. S. R.]. Vol. I, *Istochnikovedeniye istorii SSSR s drevneishikh vremion do kontza xviii v.* [sources for the history of the U. S. S. R. from the earliest times to the end of the 18th century]. By M. N. TIKHOMIROV. Vol. II, *Istochnikovedeniye istorii SSSR xix v., do nachala 90-kh godov* [sources for the history of the U. S. S. R. in the 19th century, to the beginning of the 90's]. By S. A. NIKITIN. (Moscow, Ogiz, 1940, pp. 256, 228, 5 r. each.) This work, designed as a textbook for students of history in universities and normal schools, is a critical survey of the written sources for the history of Russia. The various groups of sources are briefly described and evaluated. In Volume I the text is divided into sections, each covering a certain period. Thus, Section v has to do with Great Russia, the Ukraine, and White Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It comprises six chapters, discussing, respectively, the following subjects: Russian annals and *chronographs* for the period in question; political literature (e.g., the writings of Ivan the Terrible, *Domostroi*, the autobiography of Father Avvakum); collections of statutes; public and private records; sources for the history of White Russia and the Ukraine; accounts of foreign travels in eastern Europe and Asia in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. Volume II consists of eight chapters on the following subjects: documents in public and private archives and basic editions of official records; statistical materials (first half of the century); statistical materials (after the peasant reform); travel books; memoirs and diaries; private correspondence; newspapers and magazines; memoirs of foreigners. A brief appendix considers "the significance of the works of Marx and Engels for the study of the U.S.S.R. in the nineteenth century". In both volumes each chapter is provided with a bibliography.

AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY.

The Lion of Yanina: A Narrative based on the Life of Ali Pasha, Despot of Epirus. By STOYAN CHRISTOWE. (New York, Modern Age Books, 1941, pp. 424, \$3.00.) For the student of Balkan history Mr. Stoyan Christowe's book will be a distinct disappointment. Instead of a work which could easily have improved upon A. de Beauchamp's *Vie d'Ali Pasha, visir de Janina* (Paris, 1822), or A. Boppe's *L'Albanie et Napoléon* (Paris, 1914), or even A.-Th. Pencher, *Die Sulioten und ihre Kriege mit Ali Pasha von Janina* (Breslau, 1934), the author chose to produce a highly romantic novel which in no way adds to our information on Sultan Mahmoud II's most recalcitrant pasha. No attempt has been made to understand the administrative system of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century and thus to set in a correct perspective the wars of Ali against Constantinople and the peasant inhabitants of Epirus. The comparatively well-known story of Napoleon's policy in the Balkans, which was a steppingstone toward a more thorough French hegemony over Europe, and its relation to the rise of the Lion of Yanina, as Ali was boastfully known among his contemporaries, has not been adequately presented. Consequently, this reviewer is at a loss to understand why Mr. Christowe did not write a historically accurate book; it could have been just as interesting, and at the same time it could have supplied the need for a creditable book in English on this important Balkan per-

sonage. These criticisms ought not to leave the reader with the impression that he will not find here a book that possesses fine literary qualities—a style that is masterful in narration. The chapters (fifty-one in number) are appropriately short and well rounded, and the thread of the story is never lost sight of in the simulated dialogues and thought processes of the characters. The total effect is a complete success in holding the attention of the reader.

STEPHEN G. CHACONAS.

Economic Institutions and Cultural Change. By RUSSELL A. DIXON, Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Pittsburgh, with the assistance of E. KINGMAN EBERHART, Assistant Professor of Economics, College of Wooster. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1941, pp. xiv, 529, \$3.00.)

An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World. By HARRY ELMER BARNES. Revised edition. (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941, pp. xx, 1278, \$4.00.) "The present edition of the book has been revised from beginning to end and considerable new material has been added."

The Growth of European Civilization. By A. E. R. BOAK, ALBERT HYMA, PRESTON SLOSSON, University of Michigan. Second edition. (New York, Crofts, 1941, pp. xxv, 488, 638, \$4.50.)

Introduction to Responsible Citizenship. By WILLIAM E. MOSHER, Editor, HERMAN C. BEYLE, MARGUERITE J. FISHER, W. FREEMAN GALPIN, DOUGLAS G. HARING, RALPH V. HARLOW, JAMES A. ROSS, JR., of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. (New York, Holt, 1941, pp. viii, 887, \$3.25.)

European History since 1870. By F. LEE BENNS, Indiana University. Second edition. (New York, Crofts, 1941, pp. xviii, 1061, \$4.50.)

Europe since 1914. By F. LEE BENNS, Indiana University. Fifth edition. (*Ibid.*, pp. xvi, 998, \$3.75.)

Locomotives on Parade. By EDWARD HUNGERFORD. (New York, Crowell, 1940, pp. xiii, 236, \$2.50.) Mr. Hungerford leaves the technical details largely to others and writes a layman's book on the development of the locomotive. He generally uses a chronological treatment and includes some snatches of the romance of the railroad, but only here and there does he enlarge on the larger subject of railroading. The author has worked for and around railroads for many years, has collected models and materials on railroads, and has given much time to the pageantry of the iron horse. In fact, this book grew out of his presentation of "Railroads on Parade" at the recent New York World's Fair. He departs from the announced purpose of the book sufficiently to describe the general working of a locomotive mechanism, the classification by wheel arrangement, and some other mechanical details. It would have been helpful if he had explained more fully the valve gear, which he mentions frequently. The ninety-two illustrations in the book are pleasing and useful. It is not an inspired piece but a workaday account of the development of the locomotive.

RUSSELL H. ANDERSON.

The European Possessions in the Caribbean Area: A Compilation of Facts concerning their Population, Physical Geography, Resources, Industries, Trade, Government, and Strategic Importance. By RAYE R. PLATT, JOHN K. WRIGHT, JOHN C. WEAVER, American Geographical Society, and JOHNSON E. FAIRCHILD, Hunter College, New York. [American Geographical Society.] (New York, the Society, 1941, pp. vii, 112, \$1.00.) This is a convenient handbook; it is not a history. It deals with contemporary conditions in the British, French, and Dutch colonies in the Caribbean—including the Guianas in northeastern South

America but not the Bermudas. It is in the main a cross-sectional survey of these colonies for the years 1938-39. Yet there are included brief historical notes on each group of colonies and, in some instances, on each colony. In most cases these notes appear to be accurate, although errors are numerous in the one on British Honduras (pp. 46-47). The general conclusion which may be drawn from the data presented is that social and economic conditions in these colonies were far from ideal at the outbreak of the second World War but that the British, Dutch, and French governments were by no means wholly responsible for such conditions. It is necessary to take into account a number of other factors: climate, cyclones, earthquakes, race, and competition with products of other tropical regions. The section on the strategic significance of the European possessions in the Caribbean (pp. 86-95) is both interesting and useful. Mr. Platt, who wrote this part of the booklet, conveys the impression that this phase of the matter has been somewhat exaggerated. But, of course, he does not deny that it is of great importance. Incidentally, he includes notes on the new bases leased by the United States as well as on the small islands possessed by Venezuela, Colombia, and Nicaragua in the Caribbean region. J. FRED RIPPY.

Ourselves and the Pacific. Edited by R. M. CRAWFORD, Professor of History in the University of Melbourne. (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1941, pp. vi, 252, 4s. 6d.) A professor of history in the University of Melbourne has prepared, in collaboration with a number of colleagues and secondary-school teachers, an excellent little book on Pacific history with special reference to Australia. Intended for the schoolroom, it is, nevertheless, highly serviceable as an introduction to its subject for any reader not a specialist in Pacific history. Social and economic factors are adequately treated in this well-balanced survey. It should be on the reading list of any course in modern world history.

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ANCIENT HISTORY

T. R. S. Broughton¹

Handbook of the Etruscan Collection. By GISELA M. A. RICHTER. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1940, pp. xxiv, 85, fig. 173, \$2.00.) The Etruscan collection of the Metropolitan Museum is not large, but it contains enough material to give to the visitor an adequate idea of Etruscan art and culture, and sev-

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

eral of its pieces of Etruscan sculpture and bronze work are unmatched anywhere. Miss Richter has written an admirably concise and well-balanced sketch of the development of Etruscan civilization and has placed the descriptions of the objects within this framework. Copious footnotes, an excellent bibliography, and fine illustrations make this guide a handy reference book on the Etruscans. The descriptions refer to illustrations rather than to the actual arrangement of the objects in the galleries, but a separate check list enables the visitor to ascertain the location of the pieces discussed. Catalogues of Etruscan art are rare. The expanded and well-illustrated guidebook is a welcome substitute. F. Poulsen's *Katalog* and picture book of the Helbig Museum in Copenhagen (1927 and 1928) set a pattern for this type which Miss Richter has in many respects improved. Any student of antiquity who desires to inform himself about the Etruscans in a short time will do well to resort to this book.

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN.

Epigraphica Attica. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. [Martin Classical Lectures.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. x, 157, \$2.00.) This is an excellent little volume, with chapters on readings, reconstruction, lettering, restoration, notes with learned bibliography, and an index of inscriptions cited. Professor Meritt has reconstructed the tribute lists and has edited more than 6,000 inscribed pieces found in the Athenian agora. It is from such documents that he draws his conclusions, as the ἀπτιζώτατος of epigraphists. Fragments must be identified, must be joined if possible or, when they do not actually join, must be given proper relative position. Copies, squeezes, and photographs (sadly lacking in the Berlin corpus) must be taken. Attention must be given to the physical properties of the stones. Restoration and reconstruction must go hand in hand. I can well remember the time when, in studying Asia Minor inscriptions, we were dependent on mere copies made by hand. Sir William Ramsay, for example, rarely took a squeeze. But most recent epigraphists have done so, and I miss the name of my former teacher Wilhelm, who set a good example and who also assigned different inscriptions to the same hand by studying the chisels used, the forms and style of letters. Ferguson and Dow, however, have gone much further, even if the idea is not original with them. Professor Meritt fails to mention one form of studying inscriptions, namely casts such as some of us have made and such as Princeton made of many inscriptions found in its Syrian expeditions (of which I have a large number at the Johns Hopkins University). Professor Meritt believes in restoration, as many of us do, but the historian should be careful to distinguish between an absolutely certain restoration and one which is doubtful. Too many historical arguments have been based on a wrong restoration and often, even in the Athenian agora, later finds of actual fragments have proved earlier restorations wrong.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

The Arts of Orpheus. By IVAN M. LINFORTH. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1941, pp. xviii, 370, \$3.50.) If a title may be held to moral account toward the reading and purchasing public, this translation of a chance phrase of Strabo's is not a fair caption for a work which has nothing to do with any of the arts and would indignantly disclaim any reference to the music halls of Europe. On the contrary, it deals with a very restricted theme in a manner which can only be characterized as restrainedly unimaginative, scholarly, precise, and convincing. It collects all the ancient classical references to Orpheus in order to determine whether there ever was an Orphic religion in the specific sense in which Dionysus or Mithras were focal points of ritual with the accompanying paraphernalia of communal organization, worship, doctrine,

and belief. Professor Linforth finds that the modern world has wishfully created a formal religion where none existed, that "no ancient author ever calls any man an Orphic", and that there is no compelling evidence that there ever was "one Orphic religious institution . . . whose members were devoted to a common creed and a common ceremonial". Confronted by the "vast miscellany of myth and religious lore" clustering around Orpheus and Orphism, Professor Linforth admits plenty of "mythological, theological, and cosmological speculation" but no unifying doctrine, no widespread practice of a true religious cult with Orpheus as its titular founder. The whole treatise—for such it is—should be read as a corrective supplement to its only important rival, the long article on Orpheus in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll's *Real-Encyclopädie*. Professor Linforth's treatment of his material is a credit to the American classical tradition; and the publication of such a book at such a time by the University of California Press is an encouraging earnest that there must still be Americans who will buy and read a work of pure scholarship.

RHYS CARPENTER.

Christian Attitude towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century, Especially as shown in Addresses to the Emperor. By KENNETH M. SETTON, Instructor in Classics and Ancient History, Boston University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. 239, \$2.75.) A monograph such as this could scarcely be expected to contain much that is new to specialists, but Mr. Setton has performed a useful service in bringing together most of the evidence which illustrates the attitude of the fourth century Fathers toward the emperor. While he has rightly devoted most space to Eusebius, Athanasius, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, he has not, with one exception, neglected the other writers in whose works material for his topic is to be found. The one serious omission is Ambrosiaster, whose commentary on the Pauline Epistles and whose *Quaestiones* should have been consulted especially for their terminology, that is to say, their application of legal terms, *imperator*, *rex*, *vicarius*, and so on, both to the temporal rulers and to Christ. For the rest, the book is both readable and marked by a high degree of accuracy. Once or twice Mr. Setton lapses into jargon; for there is no reason why he should use "gonfaloniers" (p. 64) for "standard-bearers" or "annates" for "first-fruits" (p. 69). His judgment on Eusebius as a historian (p. 42) is unduly harsh, and that on Sulpicius is untrue, because he has ignored the *Chronica*. The merits of that little work are great (*cf.* my remarks in *Classical Philology*, XXXV [1940], 247-50), and Mr. Setton should certainly have included in his book the indignant protest of Sulpicius against the interference of the temporal power in an ecclesiastical matter (*Chron.* II, 50, 5).

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Gray C. Boyce

Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne. By RICHARD WILDER EMERY. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. 184, \$2.50.) Out of a thorough study of materials in French archives and elsewhere Mr. Emery has produced an able contribution both to the field of scholarship and to the long history of the struggle of man for justice. The author is drawn to conclude that preservation of the rights of the citizens of Narbonne was of much more importance than was heresy in causing the disturbances following the attempt to introduce the Inquisition there in the thirteenth century. In the latter part of the first chapter he treats of those rights that the Inquisition threatened. Of special interest is the analysis, later in the book, of a portion of a letter from the consuls of Narbonne to those of Nîmes setting forth and attacking the procedure of the Inquisition—"the first extant criticism of that institution". A good illustration of the author's handling of difficult material occurs in note 28, page 87. By use of manuscript material from the archives of Narbonne and the *Collection Doat*, he corrects omissions and mistakes in the same document as printed in the *Histoire générale de Languedoc*. This correction supports him in an important difference of opinion with Lea, Douais, and Guiraud. The book is in five chapters and contains two maps, appendixes, an excellent bibliography, and an index impressive for its array of proper names. The work is of as much value for the political and social as for the religious history of Narbonne in the thirteenth century.

ANNA M. CAMPBELL.

The Borgia Pope, Alexander the Sixth. By ORESTES FERRARA. (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1940, pp. 455, \$3.50.) In this study the well-known Cuban scholar and diplomat, Dr. Orestes Ferrara (now Cuban ambassador in Madrid), has given us a thoughtful and lucid analysis of the life of Pope Alexander the Sixth on the basis of original and patient researches in European archives. It is an extremely readable book, containing new historical material and new points of view, expressed in a clear and attractive style. It is the vigorous contention of the author that Pope Alexander the Sixth was a very able ruler and that most of the crimes which were attributed to him and to his family were the result of legends, or calumnies or historical errors. The book is an exceedingly valuable

contribution to the study of the Borgia family. It does not contain a bibliography, although bibliographical notes are given for each chapter at the end of the volume.

J. C. Rocca.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

Commentarius Rinuccinianus de sedis apostolicae legatione ad Foederatos Hiberniae Catholicos per annos 1645-1649. Volumen Tertium, An. 1648. Edited by JOANNES KAVANAGH. (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1939, pp. xvi, 694, 30s.) Volume III deals with the diplomatic activities of the papal nuncio to Ireland, Johannes Baptista Rinuccini, for the single year of 1648. Its quoted correspondence, addresses and conversations, acts and letters of the council of the Catholic Confederacy, comprise valuable primary source material which clarifies the paradox of a royalist Ireland too much at war with itself to aid the royal cause. At the

outbreak of the Civil War the Dublin parliament excluded Catholic members. These, forming themselves into the Catholic Confederacy of Kilkenny, took up arms and in 1645 invited papal authority to strengthen their demands for civil, political, and religious equity. The nuncio, Rinuccini, insisted that all demands be met, deferred aid to Charles until too late; and upon the triumph of the Puritan party in 1649 the confederation dispensed with him as politically embarrassing. Of the three volumes now published, the first chronicles the course of politico-religious events in England and Ireland from Henry VIII to the latter years of Charles. The second volume documents the Catholic War during the years 1645-47. As a primary source of first importance the *Commentarius* should be available to every scholar in the field of seventeenth century Anglo-Irish history.

EDWARD M. HINTON.

Lady Bessborough and her Family Circle. Edited by the EARL OF BESSBOROUGH in collaboration with A. ASPINALL. (London, John Murray, 1940, pp. xii, 307, 15s.) The chief interest in this volume is in the letters it contains, selected from family archives, as the Earl of Bessborough states in his foreword, rather as documents that "portray the personal characteristics of the members of the family" than on the basis of "historical importance". The editor and kinsman confesses frankly a desire to set forth other aspects of the lives of Lady Bessborough and of her daughter, Caroline, than those already "too vividly and too frequently brought into the limelight". He aspires also "to correct the more flagrantly inaccurate statements and wilder assumptions contained in the more recent commentaries on the period of the Regency". Dr. Aspinall, who collaborates in editing the letters, applies in his brief introduction and in his notes some of the evidence brought to light to correct the points of which the earl complains. The documents published range from excerpts from the diary of the Lady Harriet Spencer in 1772-73 to a letter announcing the death of Caroline Lamb in January, 1828. Naturally there are no major revelations, but historians interested in the last decades of the eighteenth century and the earliest of the nineteenth will discover interesting tidbits in letters from correspondents intimately associated with prominent political and literary figures of the time. The editing is adequate, though there are occasional slips. "P." (p. 51) was evidently intended by the writer to indicate Pitt and not "[the] P." [rince]. The editor accuses the French guards in 1789 of being "[drunk]", which they may have been, but nothing in the Duchess of Devonshire's letter suggests that they were.

W. T. LAPRADE.

John Locke and the Doctrine of Majority-Rule. By WILLMOORE KENDALL. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1941, pp. 141, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.)

Concerning English Administrative Law. By Sir CECIL THOMAS CARR. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. ix, 189, \$2.00.) This volume contains the Carpentier Lectures which, after many sufferings by sea and by land from bombs, black-outs and torpedoes, were delivered in 1940 at Columbia University by Sir Cecil Thomas Carr, the eminent clerk of the parliaments and an international scholar in administrative law. His high administrative and scholarly experience color throughout his surveys of the 1830's and after, delegated legislation, crisis legislation, administrative tribunals, the written laws, bureaucracy—the six aspects of the subject covered by the lectures, which are objective in manner and attractive in style. While they contain nothing new and suffer from the limitations which belong almost of necessity to public discourses, yet they are informed by scholarship matured by long practical experi-

ence and sobered by the traditions of public service. From a historical approach down to the present day, we move along the quiet paths of reserved and cautious statement, which avoids, on the one hand, lurid journalism, and on the other hand, an uncritical and partisan defense of administrative law. Sir Cecil recognizes that the modern service-state will require ever-widening administrative processes, but he is by no means blind to the necessity for practical wisdom on the part of citizens in order that administrative law—indeed all law—may remain under the constant vigilance which is the price of liberty. The distinguished author believes that dangers may be avoided by conscientious and highly educated public servants and by a willingness to avoid futile legislative discussions and criticisms, with the preservation at the same time and to the fullest extent of legislative responsibility. The volume is well worth reading. It is carefully referenced and indexed.

W. P. M. KENNEDY.

Portrait of a Colony: The Story of Natal. By ALAN F. HATTERSLEY. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. viii, 233, \$2.75.) This is an interesting account of the British settlement that was to establish Natal—now a province of the Union of South Africa—as the predominantly British colony in that region. The story runs from the early part of Queen Victoria's reign to the 1880's, so that as an experiment in colonization it is recent. As the title of the book indicates, it is not a historical record of a conventional kind but rather the picture as seen by the author and as such is a very readable, unaffected account of a British emigration carried through in the face of great difficulty and many hardships. Natal has never been strong enough to balance the scales in South African affairs, and as is often the fate of small communities, its efforts have drawn down something like disdain from its more powerful neighbors, the Cape Colony and the Transvaal. When one considers the difficulties under which this tiny colony labored from its earliest days, it is remarkable that it has traveled so far and maintained so strong a personality. Mr. Hattersley's simple, straightforward account illustrates and vindicates the persistence of the British traditions of free speech and government through the peoples' delegates. It was customary in the Cape Colony to say that Natal was allowed to receive legislative powers in excess of and ahead of its needs and capacity. It may have been so, though it would be difficult to prove. What is of interest to us now is that the existence of a free press and representative political institutions at so early a stage of development seems to answer those who like to regard the British Empire as a large feudal estate, run from London for the benefit of a sovereign, an idle nobility, a grasping plutocracy, or some other unpleasant entity.

ANGUS FLETCHER.

Britain and South Africa. By ERIC A. WALKER. [Longmans' Pamphlets on the British Commonwealth.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1941, pp. 63, 20 cents.)

From the British Empire to the British Commonwealth. By Sir ALFRED ZIMMERN. [Longmans' Pamphlets on the British Commonwealth.] (*Ibid.*, pp. 52, 20 cents.)

The Long Week End: A Social History of Great Britain, 1918-1939. By ROBERT GRAVES and ALAN HODGE. (New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. x, 455, \$3.00.) This social history can be read, certainly with pleasure and probably with profit, if one never forgets the title *The Long Week End*. For the phrase indicates the mental attitude of the authors, an attitude still further clarified by Robert Graves's account (p. 396) of his interview with Winston Churchill on November 24, 1936. A forceful picture is painted of the British nation enjoying for twenty-one years a long week end, led by Baldwin and the old gang. That the

people did not realize the danger from Hitler and Mussolini will probably be universally admitted. But the general effect produced by the book is of a nation lost to all sense of unity and responsibility, frittering away its time and energy on fads, fashions, and fancies. The events of 1939-41 suggest that this picture is overdrawn. At any rate the recovery has been miraculous. In the preface the authors state that "a score of books could be written on the same general line as ours, each completely different from the rest". This reviewer agrees. He agrees also with the statement that a "number of errors still remain" in facts recorded. For example, from his own personal experience he knows that the account of the English prewar educational system and of military training in schools is inaccurate. *The Long Week End* can be read with pleasure by anyone who enjoys a sparkling, brilliantly written narrative or wishes to obtain a bird's-eye view of Britain during these twenty-one years. For the historian it records the attitude of mind of a certain literary coterie during that period.

G. T. HANKIN.

A History of Canada. By CARL WITKE, Professor of History, Oberlin College. Third edition. (New York, Crofts, 1941, pp. 491, \$5.00.) "Two new chapters have been added, dealing with significant developments since 1932. They describe Canada's experiences during the recent depression, the events that drew the Dominion into another European War, and the record to date of Canada at war. As in earlier editions, the relations between Canada and the United States have received special attention."

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

Concerning the Education of a Prince: Correspondence of the Princess of Nassau-Saarbrück, 13 June-15 November, 1758. Edited with an Introductory Essay by JOHN M. S. ALLISON. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, pp. 48, \$2.00.) Mr. Allison and a skillful university press have succeeded in making a beautiful and useful little volume out of rather unpromising material. Some reflections on education by Diderot, already published in revised version as the dedicatory letter of the *Père de famille* (1758) to the Princess of Nassau-Saarbrück, are sandwiched between twenty-four pages of preliminary matter and introduction and eleven pages of the princess's answering letters to provide an interesting footnote on eighteenth century rationalism. The princess's remarks are of small importance. The editor's opinion that they illustrate "the effect of the teaching of some of the *philosophes* on important personages of their time" (p. 11) is perhaps gratuitous, since they show that she was of a "philosophic" bent even

before Diderot addressed her. To the reviewer the chief value of this little book lies in the editor's careful comparison of the original draft of Diderot's dedicatory letter with the printed version. Diderot's omissions of passages like those dealing with natural equality (p. 31), the reward due to "all men of merit" (p. 32), and the proper place of voluptuousness (pp. 34-36)—the last at least on the princess's express demand—furnish a neat example of a sort of censorship by patronage of which we know far too little.

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK.

The Decline of French Democracy: The Beginning of National Disintegration. By MARY E. WEYER. Introduction by André Maurois. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1940, pp. vi, 73, cloth \$1.50, paper \$1.00.)

ARTICLES

GUY FRÉGAULT. L'enfance et la jeunesse de Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville. *Mid-America*, July.

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WARREN C. SCOVILLE. Technology and the French Glass Industry, 1640-1740. *Jour. Ec. Hist.*, Nov.

W. KANE. The End of a Jesuit Library [College of Clermont, France, 1762]. *Mid-America*, July.

R. R. PALMER. Fifty Years of the Committee of Public Safety [bibliographical article]. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Sept.

ALBERT PARRY. The French Republican Calendar. *Jour. Calendar Reform*, XI, no. 3.

RAYMOND CORRIGAN. The Jesuits and Liberalism a Century Ago. *Hist. Bull.*, Nov.

HENRY W. EHLMANN. The Blum Experiment and the Fall of France. *For. Affairs*, Oct.

RENÉ CASSIN. Vichy or Free France? *Ibid.*

NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

Johan Banér. By BIRGER STECKZÉN. (Stockholm, Hugo Gebers Förlag, 1939, pp. 449, 12.50 kr.) The military life and activities of this Swedish hero, Johan Banér, were given a standard treatment thirty years ago by Björlin. Birger Steckzén has now applied to Banér the methods of the new biography, with surprisingly good results. No life treating Banér both as an individual and as a leader of armies has been attempted before, so that this new work may claim the merit of originality in that respect. The author faced three great difficulties. It was necessary first to master the milieu. Here the results show unevenness. The second great problem is the military side of Banér's personality. The author has succeeded well in creating the mind and body of a seventeenth century general by working backward from the available material to the man. The third task is even more exacting: the re-creation of the individual in intimate personal relations. Chance and fate here serve ill the cause of research. Practically everything needed to solve this problem has perished. Steckzén has striven hard to make bricks without straw, but the result, while a tribute to his diligence and sincerity, leaves us still unsatisfied. The volume has a fascinating style. It moves with speed and grace. Its conjectures are unforced and brilliant, yet the historian cannot but regret that these conjectures are so frequent and cover territory so important. Banér lives in this biography as a Swedish national leader; he is revealed as the most daringly stubborn of the military disciples of the great Gustavus. He is not shown to us as more than this. The facts might inspire a novel, but they do not supply a biographer.

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN.

I saw it happen in Norway. By CARL J. HAMBRO, President of the Norwegian Parliament and President of the Assembly of the League of Nations. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1940, pp. viii, 219, \$2.50.) The author disarmingly says that this book is merely "a personal narrative of political experiences" and a sketch of the tragic events in Norway in April-June, 1940. Written by a man who was in an excellent position to see and hear, it carries larger implications than this statement suggests. Within its covers lies a vivid picture of the treacherous German invasion, of the stubborn fight which the Norwegians put up for two months, of the plight of the king and the government, fleeing the pursuing Germans yet working hard and well for independence until forced to become one of the governments in exile. Not the least interesting part of the book is chapter v, which contains a summary of political trends in Norway and places Quisling and his unimportant handful of followers in their proper place in Norway's life prior to 1940. It is a pity that some such account was not available to the Leland Stowes, who, unfamiliar with the scene on which the drama of invasion was played, were led to accent beyond all reason the element of treason in the subjugation of the country. The brief story of the heroic fighting that preceded the end of the conquest in June fully dispels the notion, widely accepted by the outside world, that the Norwegians were not only sold out by widespread treachery but submitted meekly to the superior force of the Germans. The author's style is crisp and not lacking in distinction—he wrote the book in English—and he is no doubt correct in urging that Norway's fate is "a rare object lesson that ought to be studied in every country that is still neutral and independent, for every country is in danger, and every unsuspicious nation is living under mortal menace".

JOHN H. WUORINEN.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

Hegel's Hellenic Ideal. By J. GLENN GRAY. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1941, pp. viii, 104, \$1.50.) This is a sympathetic study of the process by which Hegel passed, as Croce says, "from humanism to Weltgeschichte". Mr. Gray believes

that Hegel's daring metaphysics and his dialectic have received so much attention that his importance as a "critic of our cultural heritage" has been underestimated. Mr. Gray might have added that Hegel's imputed parental responsibility for both kinds of totalitarianism now saddled upon so many modern heirs of European culture may also have made us forget other phases of his achievement. The author would make us see rather a man of subtle mind and great imagination, struck with the pathos of history, trying to reconcile what he thinks was the freedom in institutional life of the Greeks with the freedom in personal life of Christianity. He does not believe that Hegel succeeded and rather surprisingly concludes that Hegel's "unquestioned value seems to lie, most clearly, in his having brought these problems to light". This assignment to the father of the endless triads of the task of useful skepticism is almost an afterthought, however, and not very convincing. Mr. Gray's contribution, and it has real value in helping us to understand Hegel, is in showing how deep and earnest were the root ideas of his vision of historical unity. The book is the first publication of the new branch of the Columbia University Press, "organized for the purpose of making certain scholarly material available at minimum cost". The experiment is promising.

LYMAN BRYSON.

Marx' philosophische Entwicklung: Sein Verhältnis zu Hegel. By KONRAD BEKKER. (New York and Zurich, Verlag Oprecht, 1940, pp. 134, 6 fr.) This small work is a doctoral dissertation of the University of Basel. It shows considerable ability to handle abstract thought, much less ability to integrate the external course of Marx's life and the development of his ideas. Notwithstanding the use of the chronological approach, the study will interest philosophers more than historians; for the author aims to work out Marx's philosophical system and to compare it with its starting point in Hegel. He justifies his study on two grounds: first, that Marx always hoped to systematize his philosophic ideas; second, that a strictly philosophic study of his thought, based not on some hostile system or on merely a part of his ideas but on Marx's own categories, has never been attempted. Since Marx wrote no purely philosophic work, the author has had to seek for evidence in many scattered places, even where it is given only by implication. The study, carefully documented from the sources, is not, however, so unique as the author implies.

The German Elections of 1907. By GEORGE DUNLAP CROTHERS, Assistant Professor of History, Western College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. 277, \$3.00.) This book is "primarily a study of changes in public sentiment, with regard to certain 'national' questions and policies" (p. 7). In four chapters of balanced length the author describes how national considerations became dominant in the political thinking of the German people as a result of the elections of 1907. He sets the stage by discussing the relations of the various political parties to national issues. This is followed by an analysis of the problems involved in the dissolution of the *Reichstag* in December, 1906. The core of the volume is contained in the third chapter, which deals with the main issues of the election campaign: "Imperialism, ultramontanism, socialism, and Buelow's 'bloc politics'" (p. 103). The exploitation of the national motif for the implementation of the government's policy is of special interest. The use of such slogans as "German honor", "German blood", and "German civilization" (p. 110) remind one of Nazi methods, though, of course, the free election of 1907 is hardly comparable to Hitler's political travesties. A careful examination of the results of the elections concludes the volume. The structure of the book is good. The story, too, is

kept alive and clearly presented throughout. Annotation is extensive and illuminating. An adequate index and a twelve-page bibliography enhance the value of the study. The author was not able to use all the materials dealing with the election of 1907, but upon the basis of those which were available he has made a worthy contribution. With good monographs on German history in English all too few, this scholarly volume is a welcome addition to those already on hand. The reviewer noticed a few typographical errors; and the reference to "Bismarck's greater Germany" (p. 11) must have been a slip of the pen. But this scarcely detracts from the merits of an otherwise painstaking piece of work.

GORDON W. PRANGE.

The Structure of the Nazi Economy. By MAXINE Y. SWEEZY, Instructor in Economics in Vassar College. [Harvard Studies in Monopoly and Competition.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1941, pp. xvi, 255, \$3.00.)

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

Enrico Cernuschi: La vita, la dottrina, le opere. By GIUSEPPE LETI. [Biblioteca Storica del Risorgimento Italiano.] (Genoa, etc., Società Anonima Editrice Dante Alighieri, 1939, pp. ix, 148, 7.50 l.) Although Cernuschi (1821-96) was a leader in the Five Days of Milan in 1848 and in the defense of the Roman Republic in 1849, he had no biography until the present author published a brief one in French in 1937. This is an Italian edition of that book. It will be less interesting to English-speaking readers because the section on Cernuschi's views and activities as an advocate of bimetallism have been abbreviated.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

E. H. Pritchard

A French View of the Netherlands Indies. By G. H. BOUSQUET, Professor at the University of Algiers. Translated from the French by PHILIP E. LILIENTHAL. [Issued under the Auspices of the Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. viii, 133, \$1.50.) M. Bousquet's survey of Dutch colonial administration is a thought-provoking book that deserves the attention of every student of Far Eastern affairs. He finds much to praise in what the Dutch have accomplished in Java but comes to the conclusion that the French colonial system is superior to theirs. The mother country, in M. Bousquet's opinion, should put the stamp of its own civilization upon the life and thought of native peoples. He would like to see all Javanese transformed into tropical Hollanders. The Dutch, on the other hand, believe that their punctilious abstention from forcing the natives to ape Dutch manners and

language has won the respect and confidence of their Oriental wards, "The superiority of their own institutions leaves the Dutch indifferent", M. Bousquet tells his readers. That shows how little he understands Dutch mentality. It is not indifference to their own institutions that dictates to them a hands-off policy. Their native tolerance has taught them respect for that which is sacred to others. The same delicate feeling guides Dutch policy with regard to the missions. The government does not oppose the spread of Islam, nor is any authorization necessary to preach Islam. But the Christian missionaries must obtain a special license. Why this lenience toward the Moslems? asks M. Bousquet. For a very good reason. The large majority of the natives are Moslems, and from their point of view Christianity is an alien intruder. The Dutch may dislike and even detest many features of the Mohammedan religion, but they will consistently defend the Moslem's right to believe as he does. And they ascribe to this Voltairian impartiality their success as colonizers.

A. J. BARNOUW.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

The Morning of America. By FRANK J. KLINGBERG, Professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1941, pp. xviii, 479, \$3.00.) This volume, telling the story of our history down to the Jacksonian era, is the work of a student of the modern history of British-American humanitarianism who has turned aside momentarily for an incursion into the broader field of American national history. His product is doubtless just what he intended that it should be. It is not presented as a contribution to scholarship: it lacks both bibliography and footnotes; it attempts no elucidation of

fundamental principles such as those underlying the War of Independence or the Constitution; and where the road offers rough going it cheerfully detours. The book opens with an interesting picture of the British Empire on the eve of the American Revolution, with emphasis on the elder Pitt, George III, Samuel Johnson, and prominent contemporaries as indexes of the character of the times. This stress on personalities, with a touch of hero worship, is characteristic. The author has a fondness for "good" stories about people, and some of them border on the mythical. Another feature is the lively narrative of warfare. On the whole the book maintains a high level of accuracy. There is much excellent writing, and the interest of the reader is enlisted and well sustained, in spite of an occasional careless, ambiguous, or obscure sentence. The volume is evidently addressed to the general reader, especially the young one. It will undoubtedly whet the appetite of its constituents for more substantial food.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

With Sword and Lance: The Life of General Hugh Mercer. By JOSEPH M. WATERMAN. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1941, pp. xi, 177, \$3.00.) This is a very amateurish book. From a scholarly point of view it falls far short of being an adequate account of the life of General Hugh Mercer. The author approaches his subject with the localized and personalized point of view that is so common in books of this sort. He lacks a sure touch when dealing with the broader aspects of the events in which Mercer played a part. In describing the actions and reactions of his hero he indulges in description and analysis which must, at best, be called speculative. Perhaps Mercer felt the emotions and thought the thoughts ascribed to him, but there seems to be no proof of it. In other words, this is another of those semihistories, shaped predominantly by the personal interests of the author, that add little to our scholarly knowledge, even though the author is very serious in his purpose and manner. Not but what the book is good reading. It holds the reader's interest and succeeds in capturing the drama of Mercer's life, a drama that took him from the role of Scottish refugee after Culloden across the seas to the colonies and into the service of the king against the French and then to the heroic climax of his career at the battle of Princeton, where he ended his life, as he had begun it, in battle against the Hanoverian monarch. It is unfortunate that this attractive literary touch could not have been combined with sound historical technique. TROYER S. ANDERSON.

Mars' Butterfly: A Tale of the Career of Major John André, Spy-Extraordinary of the British Army in the American Revolution. By HENRY PLEASANTS, JR. (Boston, Christopher Publishing House, 1941, pp. 476, \$3.50.) Ordinarily the *Review* would not take notice of this pleasant romance of André were it not that the author claims for it a historical accuracy "based upon painstaking investigation of available source-records". Yet he did not examine the Sir Henry Clinton Papers in the William L. Clements Library, nor has he listed in his bibliography that indispensable study of Arnold's treason, *The Crisis of the American Revolution*, by William Abbatt. The framework for Mr. Pleasants's book is the familiar story of André's career, but it is not history. The author repeats the old and familiar myths and inaccuracies embroidered to heighten the drama in the novel. Despite its inaccuracies, which are no worse than in other novels based on the same situation, the book is well done in its details. Carl Van Doren's authentic and complete study of the treason plot, which has recently appeared, will, if they use it, set a lot of historical fiction writers right on the motives and events of this episode and probably will provoke a fresh series of so-called historical romances.

HOWARD H. PECKHAM.

History of the Formation of the Union under the Constitution, with Liberty Documents and Report of the Commission. SOL. BLOOM, Director General. (Washington, United States Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission, [1941], pp. x, 885.) This volume has four sections: the story of the Constitution, the organization of the government under the Constitution, liberty documents, and the celebration of the Constitution sesquicentennial. This latter section is essentially the record of the Sesquicentennial Commission's labors over a period of some five years and embodies many notable addresses; it also includes portraits of the signers of the Constitution and many other notables. The first section is a succinct account of the formation of the Constitution, with its background, an examination of the Constitution in operation, and a useful alphabetical analysis of the instrument. The outstanding historical contribution of the volume is, however, a history of the organization of the new government by David M. Matteson (pp. 141-500). This transitional period has by no means been neglected by historians, but hitherto attention has been focused for the most part upon such aspects as elections and the problems of adjustment as between national and state governments. The actual means and processes by which the new government was set in motion have remained largely in obscurity. It is these means and these processes that Mr. Matteson has sought, with admirable logic and clarity, to set forth. Emphasis has been not so much upon legislation as upon "organization to legislate, administer, and interpret". Problems of adjustment have, at the same time, been given due consideration; they have, in fact, been given a fresh examination on the basis of enlarged sources of information. This is particularly true of the executive departments, which were, to an important degree, an inheritance from the Continental Congress. There are also fresh studies of the ratification of the first ten amendments and of the cases of the "Wayward Sisters", Rhode Island and North Carolina, whose ratifications were bound up with the national organization. There is an adequate index to the entire volume, also prepared by Mr. Matteson's competent hand.

American Imprints Inventory. Check Lists: No. 13, *Idaho Imprints, 1839-1890* (pp. 74); No. 14, *West Virginia Imprints, 1791-1830* (62); No. 15, *Iowa Imprints, 1838-1860* (84); No. 16, *Tennessee Imprints, 1793-1840* (97); extra unnumbered *Location Symbols for Libraries in the United States, Additions and Corrections, January, 1941* (36). (Historical Records Survey, W. P. A., 1940-41.) Previous publications of this project have been noticed in the *Review* (XLIV, 455, XLVI, 662), and the general observations made there are applicable to the continuations. But since modifications have been made in the plan of the project, an explanation is desirable. Number 14, West Virginia, is an example of Style A, in which the descriptions are longer, with line-title divisions; whereas Style B, followed in No. 15, Iowa, is on a curtailed plan. This change of policy to Style B will hereafter be followed in the states and has been adopted to make the results more rapidly available to the public. It is hoped that by the end of 1941 at least twenty-five states will be engaged in editing their own titles for check list publication. Also, because the smaller appropriation by the Congress required reduction of the staff in July, 1941, the services of Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie as the national consultant had to be dispensed with, and the "central editorial offices remain in Chicago under the jurisdiction of the Illinois Historical Records Survey, with the control of policy remaining in the Washington office". The supplement to *Location Symbols for Libraries* is, like the original volume, a publication of the Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University, distributed through the W. P. A.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

The People, Politics, and the Politician: Readings in American Government. By A. N. CHRISTENSEN and E. M. KIRKPATRICK, Assistant Professors of Political Science, University of Minnesota. (New York, Holt, 1941, pp. x, 1001, \$3.25.)

The Negro in the Abolitionist Movement. By HERBERT APTHEKER. (New York, International Publishers, 1941, pp. 48, 15 cents.)

Railroad Competition and the Oil Trade, 1855-1873. By ROLLAND HARPER MAYBEE, Assistant Professor of History, Central State Teachers College, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan. (Mt. Pleasant, Extension Press, Central State Teachers College, 1940, pp. x, 451, \$3.00.) In this book Professor Maybee has made a useful contribution to a better understanding of early petroleum history, the key to which he finds not in technological changes nor in the activities of Rockefeller but in railroad competition. As the oil industry developed, the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, the Erie, and the Atlantic and Great Western sought to gain access to the strategic points and came into collision. The Atlantic and Great Western, built with British capital, showed courage and ability in connecting the principal oil regions with Cleveland, contributing largely to the emergence of that city as a refining center. The Pennsylvania found in this road its chief competitor and sought by every method, good and bad, to gain control. By 1865 this line, under the vigorous and often unscrupulous leadership of Tom Scott, was in possession of the best and shortest route between the oil regions and the seaboard. It was a chaotic period, with practically no legislative control, and the trunk lines engaged in practices to obtain business which later generations have condemned. The author considers that to the competition of the railroads really belonged much of the blame that has hitherto been placed upon the South Improvement Company, and he commends the sound objective of this company, though criticizing its methods. "It is a gross over-simplification of fact to popularize the impression that most of the trouble in the oil trade was due to the granting of secret rebates to Rockefeller" (p. 402). The book is a scholarly and interesting production, based on much research in contemporary records, and deserves a better dress than it has.

E. L. BOGART.

The Negro Federal Government Worker: A Study of his Classification Status in the District of Columbia, 1883-1938. By LAURENCE J. W. HAYES. [The Howard University Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Washington, Graduate School, Howard University, 1941, pp. 156, \$1.00.)

Studies in American Demography. By WALTER F. WILLCOX, Professor of Economics and Statistics, Emeritus, in Cornell University. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1940, pp. xxx, 556, \$4.50.) This is a collection of population studies from the writings of W. F. Willcox, who has been an active contributor to American demography over the last half century. The collected papers, provided with additional notes and somewhat edited for republication in this volume, range from material first published in 1891 to a newly prepared introductory section. In effect, therefore, these essays form a link between contemporary demographic studies and their beginnings in this country, for during the period that they cover the Bureau of the Census was established as a permanent organization, the present system of vital registration was developed and extended, and demography moved toward the status of a distinct discipline. For this reason these essays are of particular interest to anyone concerned with the collection or analysis of population materials, for they indicate something of the background of contemporary population study and include reference to an earlier generation of population analysts. The collection contains special studies

of population increase in the United States, the sex proportion, age distribution, death rates, divorce rates, etc., as well as more general articles on census and registration methods and on the application of statistical methods to population data. Although extensive the list of topics does not pretend to give a comprehensive coverage of the subject matter of demography, nor would the treatment of the various subjects be considered exhaustive by present standards. One infers, however, that had circumstances permitted and had all the necessary data been available, the author would have gone on to expand the present treatment into a handbook of American demography, parallel to his very useful *Introduction to the Vital Statistics of the United States*. While it is to be regretted that this more extensive work could not be completed, the present volume remains an impressive record of study and a considerable contribution to population literature. Many of the studies published here would serve as good examples of the critical analysis of population data. E. P. HUTCHINSON.

The Pardoning Power of the President. By W. H. HUMBERT. Foreword by W. W. Willoughby. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1941, pp. 142, cloth \$2.50, paper \$2.00.)

Forerunners of Freedom: The Re-creation of the American Spirit. By JEROME NATHANSON. Introduction by Horace M. Kallen. (*Ibid.*, pp. 177, cloth \$2.50, paper \$2.00.)

The Deflation of American Ideals: An Ethical Guide for New Dealers. By EDGAR KEMLER, Littauer Fellow, Harvard University. (*Ibid.*, pp. 184, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.50.)

The Development of Labor Relations Law. By WAYNE LESLIE McNAUGHTON. (*Ibid.*, pp. 197, cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.50.)

Famous Americans. Second Series. Edited by WARREN HUFF and EDNA LENORE WEBB HUFF. (Los Angeles, Charles Webb, 1941, pp. 641, \$7.50.) This consists of fifty miscellaneous biographies, ranging from Douglas Fairbanks and Sherwood Eddy to Franklin D. Roosevelt and Fiorello La Guardia. Some of the articles are done by members of the historical craft.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Stagecoach North: Being an Account of the First Generation in the State of Vermont. By W. STORRS LEE. (New York, Macmillan, 1941, pp. xi, 210, \$2.00.) This nostalgic little description of life in Middlebury, Vermont, between 1791 and 1840 has been compiled largely from the contents of the Sheldon Museum at Middlebury. It reads fairly easily in spite of the perpetual insistence on a rather vague and presumably hypothetical "Great Great Grandfather" and "Great Great Grandmother". Included are a number of interesting bits of local information. Unfortunately, defects abound in what otherwise might have been a highly stimulating volume. Most obvious is the lack of breadth in the researches of the author, who frequently displays a lack of mastery of the general field and of acquaintance with readily available and useful material. The entire period is usually treated as a unit, with no indications of change, while at times ideas are introduced which do not properly come within the half century under consideration. The supposition that Middlebury is a typical New England town at least needs support. The general theme of the existence and desirability of sturdy independence and self-sufficiency is belied by much of the specific evidence. The reason for the title still remains a mystery to this reviewer.

ROBERT E. RIEGEL.

Polish Pioneers of Pennsylvania. By MIECISLAUS HAIMAN. (Chicago, Polish R. C. Union of America, 1941, pp. 72, cloth 75 cents, paper 50 cents.)

Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration. Compiled by PAUL BLEYDEN. Edited by BERNARD S. LEVIN. (Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1940, pp. xiv, 350, cloth \$3.75, paper \$3.00.) The brief state guides to historical manuscripts in course of preparation by the Historical Records Survey merely whet the scholar's appetite for more detailed inventories to the great collections of leading historical societies. The present inventory describes very briefly 1,141 items or collections in the custody of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. While not as detailed as a calendar (as many as 4,000 items in one collection are described in one paragraph), this guide, to which a useful index has been provided, will be of considerable value to the research worker.

RICHARD B. MORRIS.

Notes, Historical and Biographical, concerning Elizabeth-Town: Its Eminent Men, Churches, and Ministers. By NICHOLAS MURRAY. Reprinted from the edition of 1844. With a Foreword by Nicholas Murray Butler. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941, pp. xiv, 174, \$2.00.) This small volume was first published in 1844 at the desire of the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and is reissued almost one hundred years later to meet a new demand. It represents the efforts of Nicholas Murray, pastor of the church from 1833 until his death in 1861, to draw up notes on his church and its people. Since for many years church and town were coextensive, in the absence of more authoritative works the volume passed as a history of the town. Yet Murray was not a historian. He was primarily interested in his church and devoted much space to his predecessors in the ministry and to religious revivals in Elizabethtown. As a history of Elizabeth, New Jersey, the volume has long since been superseded.

ISABEL M. CALDER.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

- Charleston: An Epic of Carolina*. By ROBERT GOODWYN RHETT. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1940, pp. vii, 374, \$5.00.) This is just another book about Charleston, or, perhaps it would be more correct to say, about South Carolina, for apparently the author, like some other Charlestonians, was unable to make

a distinction between the history of the city and that of the state. The reader who wishes to be informed concerning the efforts of Charleston to regain its position as a Southern port will find enlightening passages dealing with the recent period. Considering the merits of these few passages, it is regrettable that Mr. Rhett was not persuaded to abandon his plan to summarize (generally without citations) what may easily be found in other books in favor of leaving to his fellow townsmen something in the nature of a memoir of the years during which, as a prominent banker and as mayor, he helped to shape the city's policies. Such a book, published in even less pretentious form than that in which the present volume appears, might have been an important contribution to the history of Charleston, which is still to be written.

J. H. EASTERBY.

West Virginia: A Guide to the Mountain State. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of West Virginia. [American Guide Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1941, pp. xxxi, 559, \$2.75.)

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

Henry de Tonty: Fur Trader of the Mississippi. By EDMUND ROBERT MURPHY. [Institut français de Washington.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1941, pp. xix, 129, \$2.00.) This is obviously a student paper transformed by print into a book purporting to place Tonty in his proper niche in Mississippi Valley history. The reviewer has found in the volume no additions to existing knowledge. The author's claim that Tonty went to the Assiniboin Indians in 1695 seems unfounded. Even had he gone, it is unlikely that he would have used the St. Louis River route that is inaccurately depicted on the endpaper map and on the duplication of the same map in the text. Why should such a difficult way be followed when two shorter and easier canoe routes were close at hand? As one would expect in an amateur's venture into a historical period full of pitfalls even for the experienced scholar, inaccuracies, faulty translations, and awkward phraseology mar the work. The author either assumes great knowledge on the part of his reader or is himself unable to explain the role of such men as Abbé Bernou, Cabart de Villermont, Abbé Renaudot, and the Prince de Conti in the careers of Tonty and other explorers. In general the writer's conception of men and conditions in both Old and New France in Tonty's time seems hazy and uncertain, as the statement about the denouement of La Salle's expedition of 1684 on page 34 shows. The author suggests that there is need for a reliable and definitive biography of Tonty. When Mr. Murphy has completed his historical apprenticeship and has acquainted himself more thoroughly with Tonty's period, he will be in an excellent position to write such a volume. As usual, the Institut français de Washington has produced a volume that is good to look at, pleasant to hold, and easy to read. GRACE LEE NUTE.

The March of the Mounted Riflemen: First United States Military Expedition to travel the Full Length of the Oregon Trail from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver, May to October, 1849, as recorded in the Journals of Major Osborne Cross and George Gibbs and the Official Report of Colonel Loring. Edited by RAYMOND W. SETTLE. [Northwest Historical Series.] (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1940, pp. 380, \$6.00.) The long title of this volume constitutes an almost complete table of contents. Aside from the two journals and the report mentioned above, the book contains a brief introduction, a table of distances kept by one of the surgeons accompanying the regiment, a bibliography, a map, numerous illustrations of scenes along the route drawn either by George Gibbs or by William Henry Tappan, and a good index. Two hundred and forty pages are occupied by the journal of Major Osborne Cross, quartermaster, covering the entire march from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver. The journal of George Gibbs, a civilian artist and naturalist, occupies about fifty pages and deals only with the journey from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Laramie. The thirteen-page report of Colonel W. W. Loring, commander of the regiment, is largely a summary of the main features of the expedition. The publication of

these materials makes available information concerning the problems and experiences of the first military unit to make the long march over practically the entire length of the Oregon Trail. The hardships and fatigues of the march, the difficulties with deserters, the contacts with Indians, the loss of animals, and the breakdown of wagons—these and other features of the march are vividly portrayed. Both Cross and Gibbs describe the flora, fauna, topography, scenery, and geographical aspects of the country over which they traveled. Since this was the year of the California gold rush, the journals are full of references to the character and vicissitudes of the horde of emigrants along the trail, many of whom were given much-needed assistance by the soldiers. Altogether, this well-edited volume is a welcome addition to the history of the Far West.

DAN E. CLARK.

Farm Ownership, Tenancy, and Land Use in a Nebraska Community. By ROBERT DILLER. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. vii, 192, \$2.00.) This is a study of land ownership, land conveyances, and the effect which title changes have had upon the land-use pattern of a restricted area in southeastern Nebraska. Its author, who is obviously trained in the law, has read widely in the recent literature on land use, soil erosion, and tenancy. Some of this literature has a definite propagandist tinge which has disturbed Mr. Diller, who seeks to dispute its conclusions and to minimize the necessity for government controls. The materials used are the conveyance, mortgage, and probate records of Jefferson and Gage Counties, from which much of interest has been distilled. Unfortunately, the author has not indulged in much reading of history, and consequently he elaborates on some problems that require no elaboration and neglects others that have been generally neglected. His understanding of land policies is superficial, being confined to the laws of land disposal. The treatment of tenancy is neither new nor fresh and adds little to our understanding of the development of this important institution. The most interesting feature of the book is the statistical compilations of mortgages, conveyances, and periods of ownership. When carried out on a wider scale such statistics will be valuable to the historian and agricultural economist. The author includes an illuminating indictment of the rectangular system of survey, long held to be one of the most admirable features of Federal land policy. Because the quarter-section farms into which the system of survey divided the public domain did not conform to topographical lines or a rational land-use pattern, the author scorns it. But he forgets that current knowledge of strip and contour farming is a recent development. More important, he disregards the enormous difficulties into which the government would have fallen had any other system of survey been adopted.

PAUL WALLACE GATES.

Indiana: A Guide to the Hoosier State. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Indiana. [American Guide Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1941, pp. xxvi, 548, \$2.75.)

The Puyallup-Nisqually. By MARIAN W. SMITH. [Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.] (New York, Columbia University Press, sold by J. J. Augustin, 30 Irving Place, 1940, pp. xii, 336, \$5.00.) The book is a presentation of the remnants of the "Coast Salish of southern Puget Sound". The "Puyallup-Nisqually culture is gone" (p. xi). As such the difficulties encountered were tremendous. It requires much energy, patience, and perseverance to get scraps of information from old men and women ("Their ages in 1935 ranged from sixty-eight to over eighty" [p. xii]) and weave them into a picture of a once-

functioning culture. Although Miss Smith could have augmented her material by working more intensively with the aged Indians who at present live on the Skokomish reservation on the west side of Puget Sound, nevertheless she is to be commended for adding to the picture of that culture. Two studies throw light upon the possibility of using this material for historical analysis. Both Ruth Bunzel's study of Pueblo pottery and Lila O'Neale's study of Yurok-Karok basketry report that what the informants said they were doing oftentimes was far different from what they actually did. If we apply this to Miss Smith's study (and many anthropological reports, including the reviewer's), we must conclude that what we have is a report of what the old people tell us about the past, not the past itself. This does not invalidate the worth of the work done. Rather it makes possible studies important to historians. For example, a comparison of Miss Smith's report with the early reports of the Russians, English, and others who first contacted these people would be invaluable to every social science.

BURT W. AGINSKY.

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

J. W. Caughey

Historia do Brasil. By PEDRO CALMON. Three volumes. (São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939-40, pp. 361, 390, 316.) Calmon's *Historia* represents not only a prodigious amount of labor but also a balanced interpretation of political and economic history in their sociological aspects. The three volumes deal respectively with the colonial, the imperial, and the republican periods of Brazilian history. They have elaborate footnotes and an extensive bibliography. We commend these volumes because scholars in this country are far too indifferent to the works of their American contemporaries who use the Portuguese and Spanish languages. Again, racial evolution in Brazil possesses certain distinctive features as worthy of consideration as those observed among the Australians or Mediterranean peoples. Calmon cites his facts, draws his inferences, and builds up a body of reasoned social judgments. The contribution from various racial groups, the reflection of geographical factors, the growth of public opinion, the development of democratic principles, and many similar bodies of facts are treated in a thoroughly competent manner. There seems to be no special pleading anywhere throughout the treatise.

H. L. LATHAM.

Caminos de América. By AGUSTIN ZAPATA GOLLAN. (Santa Fe, Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Fomento, 1940, pp. 84.) Though the title is broader, this work is a survey of Indian utilization of water routes in the Caribbean and South America; of Indian trails, el camino de la Selva, los caminos del Inca, and el camino de Concolorcorvo; and of the principal trade routes in colonial South America.

The Lima Resolution, the Essay on Hamlet, and Other Papers. Bulletin No. 12, De Hostos Centenary Commission, San Juan, Puerto Rico. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1940, pp. vi, 117.) A sheaf of tributes to Hostos, together with a translation into English by Mariesta Dodge Howland and Guillermo Rivera of his essay on Hamlet.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

This issue of the *Review* is the first one to be edited from the new offices in the annex to the Library of Congress. The same offices house the records and activities of the Executive Secretary of the Association. The return to a headquarters in Washington, long the center of the Association's activities, and the combination in one person of the responsibilities of Managing Editor and Executive Secretary complete the reorganization approved at the last annual meeting, when Guy Stanton Ford was elected to serve in this double capacity. The *Review* under the guidance of Professor Robert L. Schuyler has been maintained at its traditional high standards, and the Association remains his grateful debtor for the scholarship and skill which he generously devoted to his editorial tasks. In like manner the outgoing Executive Secretary, Professor Conyers Read, has drawn no half-time line in his efforts to see that the business affairs of the Association and the activities of its many committees and commissions were carried on crisply and effectively.

Fortunately for the new editor and for the *Review*, Miss Florence Miller will continue as assistant editor. Miss Harriet Bohning of Minneapolis carries what a governmental office would call the duties of chief clerk. Miss Patty Washington, long the competent assistant secretary-treasurer of the Association, completes the staff of four giving full time to the affairs of the *Review* and the Association.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

At its meeting in Washington on November 16 the Executive Committee rescinded its earlier action (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 215) assessing a fee of fifty cents for each entry in the list of doctoral dissertations in preparation. The list will be published, and it is hoped that the call which has gone out to heads of history departments in leading graduate schools asking for a list of their candidates and subjects will meet with a prompt response. In the interests of economy some change may be introduced into the method of printing and distributing the list.

Professor Edgar L. Erickson of the University of Illinois, chairman of the Special Committee on the British Sessional Papers of the American Historical Association, has reported the beginning of work on the project to microprint the nineteenth century volumes. The microprint issue will be the only complete collection in existence. Arrangements have been made with Mr. Albert Boni of the Readex Microprint Corporation making possible a comparatively low price of \$5,000 per set if the committee obtains the equiv-

alent of twenty-five full subscriptions. The committee hopes to secure the co-operation of a sufficient number of institutions to make the project successful.

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: 4,844 photoprints, 229 pages of transcripts, and 6,810 photo film pages of manuscripts in Spanish and Mexican archives, fifteenth to seventeenth century, an additional gift from the Carnegie Institution of Washington; royal cédulas of Spain relating to Guatemala, August 7, 1535, to September 13, 1543, five pieces; microfilm of a sixteenth century manuscript, *Memoriale quoddam desideriorum et bonarum cogitationum*, by Petrus Faber (original in the Cornell University Library); two box-portfolios of papers, including reproductions, collected by Mary L. Webb, pertaining to land grants and land companies in North America, seventeenth to nineteenth century; five box-portfolios of notes and entries for a proposed guide to materials for United States history in the archives of the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, thirty-nine packages of plates and negative prints pertaining to American history from manuscripts in Scottish, Portuguese, and Spanish archives, mainly seventeenth and eighteenth century, twenty-six items concerning John White, artist of the Raleigh expedition of 1585, and copies of fifty-eight Calhoun letters, 1812 to 1850, an additional gift from the Carnegie Institution of Washington; papers of the Preston family of Virginia, microfilm of 10,590 pages of manuscript, and 526 pages of two indexes; treatise on logic, in Latin, containing a dedication to the Mexican Virgin Mary of Guadalupe, November, 1747, one volume in vellum, author unknown; autobiographical reminiscences of the Reverend James Wilson, Congregational minister in Providence, Rhode Island, covering March 12, 1760, to October 16, 1837, with a typewritten copy of the manuscript, in one box-portfolio; memorandum book of William Ennalls, planter of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, pertaining largely to business matters, June 13, 1771, to April 25, 1774, one volume; typewritten copy of a letter of George Washington, October 9, 1775 (original in the library of Archbishop Spellman, New York City); two broadsides, a resolution of the United States Continental Congress concerning measures recommended for the defense of Rhode Island, February 15, 1777, and an "Order of Procession in Honor of the Constitution of the United States", New York, July 23, 1789; manuscript notebook, 252 pages, kept by Captain Christian Myers from 1778 to 1780, consisting mainly of army orders issued to troops under Generals Lafayette and John Sullivan and from Washington's headquarters; photograph of a dispatch from Anthony Wayne to George Washington, dated at Stony Point, July 16, 1779; one box-portfolio of photostats and papers pertaining to George Washington, collected by John C. Fitzpatrick; two box-

portfolios of papers pertaining to the Continental Congress, collected by W. C. Ford; photostats of two letters from Richard Wylly to Edward Telfair, December 2, 1791, and from Thomas Wylly to the Committee of Defense, Savannah, Georgia, September 24, 1814; three box-portfolios of transcripts of county records of Tennessee, 1791 to 1896; one box-portfolio of the papers of the Carrington and McDowell families of Virginia, dated 1795 to 1897 and undated; letter book of Mary Stead Pinckney (Mrs. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney) of twelve letters written by her in Europe, November 14, 1796, to August 24, 1797; letter from George Washington to James McHenry, Secretary of War, dated at Mount Vernon, July 14, 1799; photostats of two letters from James Madison to John Mason, July 10, 1803, and to David Wilkinson, February 17, 1828; one box-portfolio of papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss and related papers, 1808 to 1928; letters from Hugh Nelson, June 14, 1814, and from John Hay, February 14, 1816, both to Dr. Everett, an addition to the Hugh Nelson collection; draft by Asbury Dickins of reply to an address by Ninian Edwards bringing certain charges against William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, May 8, 1824; nineteen volumes of records of the Presbyterian Church in Washington, D. C., May 11, 1824, to June 8, 1936; notebook concerning the loading of the canal boat *Defiance* and her voyage to Whitehall, April 24, 1827, to July 12, 1827; microfilm (fourteen frames) of a review by Joseph Story of speeches of Daniel Webster, 1830; papers of William Brown and Freeman Pepper, jr., manufacturers of flour at Lowell and Pelham, Massachusetts, 1837 to 1853 (forty-seven pieces); microfilm of papers of Henry J. Rogers, first superintendent of the first American telegraph company, September 11, 1844, to June 19, 1875 (thirty-five pieces); photostat of a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of New Mexico by General Stephen William Kearny announcing the annexation of New Mexico by the United States, August 22, 1846; letter from N. Broughton, jr., to C. C. Jewett, dated as from the American Tract Society, Boston, Massachusetts, September 25, 1851; photostats of sixty-one pages of the private journal of William Watts Hart Davis, October 17-19, 1854, and at the treaty with the Navajo Indians, New Mexico, July 5-17, 1855; three box-portfolios of correspondence of Mrs. Constance Cary Harrison (Mrs. Burton N. Harrison), including letters of Burton N. Harrison and others, 1861 to 1918; Herndon-Weik collection of the papers of Abraham Lincoln and material relating to him, comprising over 2,000 pieces, 1791, 1833, 1836-71, 1873, 1874, 1877, 1880-83, 1885-92, 1894-99, 1901, 1902, 1907-18, 1925, and undated (restricted); typewritten copy of the *Diary and Reminiscences of Stephen R. Mallory, Pensacola, Fla., Confederate Secretary of the Navy*, May 30, 1861, to December 8, 1865 (original at the University of North Carolina); papers of John K. Shellenberger relating to the battle of Franklin, Tennessee, May 1, 1862, to October 2, 1913 (120 pieces); papers of Louis J. Keidel and

other members of the Keidel family, July 1, 1862, to April 12, 1865 (twenty-three pieces); message of Abraham Lincoln relative to Indian barbarities in Minnesota, addressed to the United States Senate, December 11, 1862; microfilm of papers of James Hodge, sergeant in the Union Army, May, 1863, to July 13, 1865 (eight pieces); military instructions from General Ulysses S. Grant to General Benjamin F. Butler, commanding the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, April 2, 1864; nine letters of George Harrington, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, August 6, 1864, to April 22, 1870; papers of James A. Garfield and his wife, Lucretia Garfield, 1865 to 1883 (101 pieces), addition to the Garfield collection; twenty-six box-portfolios of the papers of Samuel Warren Dike, clergyman, reformer, and sociologist, 1885 to 1913; "Covered Wagon Days Reminiscences", by F. W. Kimball, thirty-three typewritten pages of recollections concerning Minnesota, 1866 to 1880; one volume of poetry and prose by Alfred Billings Street, April 5, 1878, to July 4, 1879, and undated; papers of, and relating to, William Campbell Preston Breckinridge, July, 1879, to March 23, 1902 (seven pieces), addition to Breckinridge family papers; microfilm of "Six Shooters Who's Who", a typescript biobibliography concerning gun fighters in the Old West, by Guy J. Giffen; three box-portfolios of diaries of William Henry Allison, American historiographer, fifty-seven volumes, January 1, 1886, to December 31, 1940, and one volume, "Grandma Allison", January 1, 1868, to January 2, 1869; one box-portfolio of photostats of typewritten copies of papers pertaining to Jefferson Davis and the Davis family, 1889 to 1906; typewritten and photostat copies of papers of, and relating to, Woodrow Wilson, June 10, 1885, to November 16, 1911 (ten pieces; this item and the eight immediately following supplement the Woodrow Wilson collection); two letters from Ellen Axson Wilson to John Bates Clark, June 3 and 8, 1897; photostats and typewritten copies of eight letters from Woodrow Wilson to Hamilton Holt, December 21, 1899, to December 31, 1923; papers of Woodrow Wilson and related papers, including two typewritten copies of letters to and from Henry B. Fine, a volume of newspaper clippings, 1913-14 (nine pieces); correspondence of J. P. Tumulty, Rudolph Forster, and George Sarton, six letters and two drafts, January 23, 1917, to July 7, 1919; correspondence between Woodrow Wilson and Grosvenor B. Clarkson and related papers, March 20, 1917, to October 2, 1925, photostats, typewritten copies, and clippings (thirty-five pieces); cablegram from Woodrow Wilson, in Paris, to Robert Bridges, May 29, 1919; letter from Newton D. Baker to General William S. Graves, August 31, 1920; typewritten biography of Woodrow Wilson by Louis Seibold, seventy-one pages; four box-portfolios of correspondence of Major Charles Bendire relating to ornithology, mainly 1890 to 1896; correspondence between Theodore Roosevelt and Augustus Peabody Gardner, including also one letter from Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, October 20, 1894, to June 12, 1917

(sixteen pieces); one box-portfolio of papers of Richmond Pearson Hobson, 1893 to 1937, an addition to the Hobson collection; forty-three box-portfolios of manuscript prepared by General A. E. Carman, campaigns of the Civil War, mainly 1861 to 1864; typewritten copy of "Reminiscences of the Civil War", forty-one pages, by William Frank Wilder, Captain, Company D, 46th Illinois Infantry, August 6, 1903; scrapbook of Colonel James A. Moss on board the revenue cutter *Polillo*, on which William Jennings Bryan went to the Philippine Islands, December 17, 1905, to January 21, 1906; 231 notebooks of Waldo G. Leland, American historian, containing material relating to American history in libraries and the Archives des Affaires étrangères, Paris, 1907 to 1927; eight box-portfolios of papers of James M. Helm and Edith Benham Helm pertaining to the Paris Peace Conference, 1918-19, and six scrapbooks containing materials relating to social functions at the White House, 1933-40 (restricted); 127 volumes of scrapbooks of Charles S. Hamlin, January, 1926, to April, 1938, with index, an addition to the Hamlin papers; one volume, "Theodore Roosevelt, United States Civil Service Commissioner", Impression No. 113, compiled by the United States Civil Service Commission, mimeographed, August, 1940.

Solon J. Buck, director of research and publications in the National Archives since 1935, became the second Archivist of the United States on September 18. He succeeded R. D. W. Connor, who resigned to accept a newly endowed professorship of American history and jurisprudence at the University of North Carolina. The President, in accepting Dr. Connor's resignation, wrote: "You have not only laid the foundation but have built the actual structure of an extremely important and permanent repository of American historical source material. Your record is one which will always be acclaimed with well-deserved appreciation." Before coming to the National Archives Dr. Buck had been superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, 1914-31, and director of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, 1931-35, and had served on the faculties of the universities of Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, and Pittsburgh.

The Archivist of the United States announces the appointment of Robert D. Hubbard as director of personnel in the National Archives to succeed the late Isaac McBride. Mr. Hubbard was formerly on the staff of the Department of Agriculture as a specialist on employee training and other personnel problems, and he is a candidate for the degree of doctor of philosophy in public administration at the American University. The National Archives has recently lost the services of Emmett J. Leahy, who resigned to become head of a newly created Office of Records Coordination in the Department of the Navy, which is to plan, co-ordinate, and administer the current record systems of that department; of Wayne C. Grover, who was transferred temporarily to the Office of the Coordinator of Information; of Siert F. Riepma, who resigned to accept a position in the Office of the Ad-

ministrator of Export Control; and of Ralph L. Dewsnup, who was called to active military service. The National Archives has been officially designated as one of the agencies of the Federal government "conducting activities essential to the preparedness and national defense program". Among the many activities of the National Archives that are of importance to the defense program and that led to this recognition are (1) its development of a store of information on record administration and its assistance to government agencies in this field; (2) its aid to government agencies in the disposal of old records either by the transfer of those of value to the National Archives Building or by the destruction of those without value; (3) its reference services on the vast quantities of records in its custody, including many records of the period of the first World War, which have particular significance in the present emergency; and (4) its practice of making available to other government agencies its technical equipment and specially trained personnel. The first gift to be accepted by the recently established National Archives Trust Fund Board is that of \$30,000, donated by Mr. and Mrs. Hall Clovis of Greenwich, Connecticut, for the making of permanent copies of 3,500 sound recordings of Indian music and dialects that were transferred to the National Archives by the Smithsonian Institution in 1939. As an experiment the central search rooms in the National Archives are now open until 10 P. M. on Mondays through Fridays. The closing hour on Saturdays will continue to be 5 P. M. These hours will be continued indefinitely if the search rooms are sufficiently used. The National Archives has recently issued a *Select Bibliography on the History, Organization, and Activities of Archival Agencies* and a bulletin on *The Care of Records in a National Emergency*.

Presidential papers that have recently been transferred to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library include files of greetings and invitations received by the President, together with copies of replies, 1933-40; daily schedules of appointments, lists of visitors, and travel itineraries, 1933-40; letters of opinion received from the public on various domestic and foreign policies of the administration, 1933-41; and letters received from clergymen in reply to the President's circular request of September 23, 1935, for advice on problems of social legislation and unemployment. Other recently acquired manuscript material includes correspondence of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1934-37, and files of letters received by James A. Farley from leaders of the Democratic party during the campaigns of 1930, 1932, and 1936. The collection of printed materials on naval history has recently been supplemented by an additional gift of about 1,000 books from the President. Progress has been made in the work of arranging the manuscripts and books, but they are not yet available for use. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has been visited by nearly 35,000 persons since the museum portions of the building were opened to the public on July 1. The exhibits are frequently changed and in-

clude occasional loan exhibits, such as a recent display of drawings made for the W.P.A. Index of American Design and a showing of a set of studies made by Olin Dows for his murals in the post-office building at Hyde Park.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has acquired a collection of correspondence, manuscript articles, books, pamphlets, and photographs of Fritz and Mathilde Franziska Anneke of Milwaukee. Anneke and his wife participated in the Revolution of 1848 in the Rhine Valley and after their exile became prominent among the German social and political reformers in the United States. The correspondence, amounting to several thousand pieces, all in German script, contains much information on the opinions and activities of German-American intellectuals in the nineteenth century.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has recently acquired the following new materials: Eighteen volumes of minute dockets, expense books, tariff records, and statements of property listed for taxation by railroad companies, 1891-99, of the North Carolina Railroad Commission, which was a regulatory body and which in 1899 was succeeded by the North Carolina Corporation Commission. Thirty volumes and eighty boxes of minute dockets, judgment dockets, valuation of railroads, certificates of incorporation of business firms, expense books, North Carolina Coal Committee records, and railroad tariffs, 1899-1934, of the North Carolina Corporation Commission, which succeeded the North Carolina Railroad Commission in 1899. The Corporation Commission was succeeded by the Utilities Commission in 1934. The Banking Commission was a division in the Corporation Commission, and there are twenty-three volumes and 195 file boxes of records of this division. This material consists of minutes of meetings of boards of directors, correspondence, reports of bank examiners, and miscellaneous items. It is dated 1899-1934. There are in the collection twenty-seven file boxes of call reports of banks, 1887-88. Approximately 145 volumes of Wake County records consisting of the minutes of the pleas and quarter sessions of court, 1787-1868; judgment dockets, guardian bonds, guardian accounts, inventories and settlements of estates, registration books, trial, recognizance, and execution dockets, accounts, and miscellaneous material dating between 1772 and 1936.

The North Carolina Historical Records Survey, a Work Projects Administration project which has been sponsored since its inception in 1936 by the North Carolina Historical Commission, has completed and turned over to the printers the manuscript of the *Guide to Manuscript Collections in the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission*, to be published by the commission. Although the staff of the Survey has been considerably reduced during the past year in order to permit the diversion of a number of certified workers to projects more directly concerned with the national defense effort, progress has been satisfactory. Filing of manuscripts

in the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina Library has been completed, and similar work on the archives of the state government in the custody of the commission has resulted in the proper filing of hundreds of thousands of documents. Under the early American imprints program Survey workers have listed 75,377 titles (duplicates included) of volumes printed in the United States prior to 1877 from the shelves and catalogues of the various libraries and depositories in the state. The state-wide alphabetical file for vital statistics information taken from tombstone inscriptions now contains cards for 226,892 graves, covering 5,875 cemeteries. An additional 26,518 inscriptions have been listed but not yet processed. Records have been located and listed and historical data secured for some 4,000 churches. Field examination of the records of most of the state agencies has been completed, and the status of the program in this field is very satisfactory. Copies of the present list of publications of the Survey have been distributed to a selected list of depositories throughout the country as well as to a large list within the state. The printed items may be obtained, but the limited number of available copies of the mimeographed items prohibits their distribution to individuals or to depositories other than those on the selected lists.

The Committee on the Conservation of Cultural Resources, with Waldo G. Leland, director of the American Council of Learned Societies, as its chairman and Richard H. Heindel of the University of Pennsylvania as executive secretary, was organized in March at the instigation of the National Resources Planning Board to get information and formulate definite recommendations concerning the protection of the nation's cultural heritage, as preserved in museums, libraries, and archives, against the possible hazards of war and emergency. Among others serving on this voluntary committee are the Librarian of Congress, the Archivist of the United States, and the Secretary of the American Library Association. The committee has held several meetings, and specific booklets containing some general recommendations will be issued in the near future. The committee is working with various professional societies and is receiving advice from these and agencies of the government.

It is now definitely established that most of the documents of the Belgian ministry of foreign affairs are in Great Britain. Those who had occasion to use the archives in Brussels will remember that they were not stored in shelves but in boxes, so that they could be quickly removed if the necessity arose. The precaution was well taken and the foresight rewarded. "All our archives and documents are in safety", writes the Belgian *chef de bureau*, "except a few which are without historical importance." Presumably the successful removal of the documents to Britain was due to the efforts of M. Henri Lambotte, who is still at his post with the government now in London.

An announcement dated March, 1941, is enclosed in the copies of the Nineteenth Annual Report of the Institute of Historical Research for August 1, 1939 - July 31, 1940. The committee in charge explains that arrangements have been made for books and periodicals from the institute to be consulted at the London School of Hygiene and that, although the institute library is closed, the small staff still at work will do their best to answer questions in connection with research projects. It is hoped to publish the Bulletin of the Institute twice a year. The Theses Supplement is to be suspended during the war, but a list of printed theses only will be published in the Bulletin. Beginning in 1942 the Supplements to the Guide to Historical Publications of Societies of England and Wales will be issued only in alternate years. Work on the Victoria History of the Counties of England is being continued only for Oxfordshire, Sussex, and Warwickshire, for which funds were raised locally before the outbreak of war.

The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino, California, was again the setting for a series of summer conferences held on August 4, 5, and 6. This year the conferences were devoted to discussions concerning both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Dr. Allan Evans of the library staff and Professor David K. Bjork of the University of California at Los Angeles were responsible for arranging the meetings, and the success of this experiment was largely the result of their work. At the first conference Dr. Evans explained what the Huntington collections held to attract the attention of medievalists. At the same session several papers touching in varied fashion on the general problem of historiography in the Middle Ages were presented. The larger topics more concerned with later periods of history and literature or the fine arts were: the social diffusion of ideas in the English Renaissance, the cultural history of Tudor England, the transition from the Elizabethan to the Stuart period, and the early Stuarts. A detailed account of the meetings will appear in the *Huntington Library Quarterly*.

The Economic History Association (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVI, 755) held its first annual meeting at Princeton, New Jersey, on September 5 and 6. About one hundred scholars were in attendance at the sessions, which concluded with an address by Dr. Edwin F. Gay, president of the association, on "The Tasks of Economic History".

The eighth annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association took place at London, Ontario, on October 8 and 9. Sessions were held in the Hotel London, the University of Western Ontario, and St. Peter's Hall. Addresses and papers delivered included the presidential address by Senator the Hon. W. H. McGuire, president general. Officers of the association for 1941-42 are: His Eminence the Most Rev. J. M. Rodrigue, Cardinal Villeneuve (honorary president), Victor Morin (president gen-

eral), the Rev. H. J. Somers (president, English section), and the Rev. Thomas M. Charland (president, French section).

The seventh annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association was held at Atlanta, Georgia, on November 6, 7, and 8. Among the topics serving as centers for discussion in sections were: history and population in the Middle Ages, the French Revolution, some aspects of Latin-American history, newspapers as a factor in Southern development, Southern transportation and trade, some postwar Southern leaders, Southern history, scientific development in the South, Southern economy and politics, local historians and the development of Southern historical scholarship, and Southern literature and music. The presidential address was delivered by Professor B. B. Kendrick on "The Colonial Status of the South". The incoming president is Dean Albert B. Moore of the University of Alabama.

The first institution in Brazil for the promotion of research in the social sciences on the graduate level was founded last July in Rio de Janeiro. The Instituto de Altos Estudos em Ciencias Economicas, Politicas, e Sociais is a private, nongovernmental foundation. Many of its staff, including a Guggenheim Fellow, have studied in the United States. The dean, Salviano Cruz, is a graduate of Tufts College with graduate training at Harvard and the University of Chicago. Professor Leonard D. White is honorary chairman of the department of political science and public administration. The institute is making an appeal for books and publications in its field and for possible financial support. The chairman of the endowment committee is the director of Brazil's school for social work, Dr. Alice de Toledo Tibiriça.

Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, announces that it has awarded, through its Department of Research and Record, seven fellowships to encourage the writing of studies of special merit in the field of Virginia history during the year 1941-42. The fellowships are also designed to promote the publication of studies in this field, and the awards are made upon the condition that the recipients shall submit the completed product of their researches for publication in the Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies. The scope of the series has been defined as the history of Williamsburg and the origin, development, and expansion of the civilization of which this city was the center. The fellowships for the year 1941-42 have been awarded to the seven persons listed below, with the studies upon which they are engaged: Willard F. Bliss, Princeton University, "The Extension of Tidewater Civilization into the Shenandoah Valley"; Wirt Armistead Cate, Nashville, Tennessee, "The Founding and Early Cultural Development of Richmond"; Joseph E. Charles, Harvard University, "The Party Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy"; Frank H. Colley, Duke University, "The Development of the Legal Profession in Colonial Virginia"; Calvin B. Coulter, Princeton University, "The Merchants of Colonial Virginia"; Adolph F. Meisen, University of North Carolina, "The Early Life of Thomas Jeffer-

son"; David M. Potter, Rice Institute, "Governmental Offices of Colonial Virginia".

The members of the history and government staff at the Iowa State College have prepared a series of eight bulletins on "The Challenge to Democracy". This series is published under the direction of the Iowa State College Extension Service and the Iowa State College Experiment Station. It includes the following titles with their authors: *Democracy on Trial*, by John A. Vieg; *The Citizen and the Power to Govern*, by John H. Powell; *The Family Farm in the Machine Age*, by Louis Bernard Schmidt; *The Test of Citizenship*, by V. Alton Moody; *Democracy and Nationalism*, by Clarence H. Matterson; *Toward a New Rural Statesmanship*, by Earle D. Ross; *Toward a Better Public Administration*, by H. C. Cook; *The Machine and Democracy*, by Charles H. Norby. Copies of these bulletins may be secured by writing to the Bulletin Office, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.

The National Film Board of Canada, a governmental agency in Ottawa, has prepared and will make available to interested groups in Canada and the United States a historical 16 mm. film with sound. Its title is "From Jacques Cartier to Confederation or the Founding of Eastern Canada". A second film on Canadian history is in preparation.

The first issue of the *Russian Review* was published in November. This new journal is concerned "with giving a broad panorama of the Russian scene, historical, political, economic, cultural"; it "is not committed to any partisan interpretation of Russian history or of the Russian Revolution". William Henry Chamberlin is editor, Michael Karpovich is associate editor, and Dimitri von Mohrenschildt is managing editor. The magazine is to be published semiannually at 215 West 23rd Street, New York City; the annual subscription is \$2.00, the price of single numbers, \$1.00.

PERSONAL

Father James Stack, C. S. C., professor of history at Notre Dame University, died on July 2. Father Stack was known among his students as a vigorous and conscientious teacher who made a lasting impress both as man and teacher upon those who sat under him.

Judge Charles H. Carey, whose death occurred on August 26, was a director of the Oregon Historical Society for many years and was its president from 1927 to 1937. He was the author of *History of Oregon* (1922) and *A General History of Oregon prior to 1861* (1935).

The historical gild, especially those who had seen him on his recent visit to America, were shocked to learn of the death of Professor Robert B. Mowat, the British historian. Dr. Mowat was killed when an R. A. F. Atlantic transport plane, on which he was a passenger, crashed into a hillside on the Scottish west coast on September 2. He would have been fifty-

eight years old on September 26. Dr. Mowat had been professor of history at the University of Bristol since 1928 and was one of the most popular lecturers in the classroom or on the public platform. He came to the United States last November under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation to lecture at leading colleges and universities. This was for him a congenial task, for he had or made friends on every campus and was always deeply concerned with forwarding understanding between Great Britain and the United States. From 1925 to 1926 he was professor of history at the University of Wisconsin. His son, Dr. Charles Mowat, is assistant professor of history in the University of California at Los Angeles. Dr. Mowat was born in Edinburgh and was educated at George Watson's School, at Merchiston Castle School, at the University of Edinburgh, and at Balliol College, Oxford University, where he gained first classes in *Lit. Hum.* and modern history. After leaving Oxford he became assistant master at Eton in 1906. A year later he became a fellow and tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, a position which he held until 1928. During the War, 1916-18, he was in the Naval Intelligence Department. Dr. Mowat was the author of over forty books on European and American history and public affairs, among them *The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century*, *The Diplomacy of Napoleon*, *Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and the United States*, *A History of European Diplomacy*, *The Concert of Europe*, *The States of Europe*, *The Age of Reason*, *Diplomacy and Peace*, *The American Entente*, *Americans in England*, and *Europe in Crisis*.

William Henry Allison died after a short illness at Center Lovell, Maine, on September 9. He was born in Somerville, Massachusetts, on August 17, 1870. His bachelor's degree was received from Harvard in 1893, followed by the B. D. from Newton Theological Institution, 1896, and the Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, 1905. Having been ordained to the ministry in the Baptist Church, he served a pastorate in Concord, New Hampshire, 1899-1902. He began his teaching career as acting professor of church history in Pacific Theological Seminary in 1904. The next year he became professor of history and political science in Franklin (Indiana) College and in 1908 professor of history at Bryn Mawr College. In 1910 he went to Colgate University as professor of ecclesiastical history, serving until 1928, when he became professor emeritus in the merged Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. For five years he had also been dean of the Colgate Theological Seminary. Since 1930 he had been consultant in church history at the Library of Congress, and in later years had also advised on the purchase, classification, and cataloguing of works in church history, religion, and related fields. In addition to being one of the editors of *A Guide to Historical Literature* (1931) he published *Baptist Councils in America* (1906), *Inventory of Unpublished Manuscript Material relating to American Religious History* (Carnegie Institution, 1911), and numerous articles in the

Dictionary of American Biography and other co-operative works and journals. Dr. Allison had a genius for friendliness which appeared in his ready helpfulness to those who sought his expert counsel, but even more as one of five Harvard graduates who for about a half century maintained their summer homes on an island at Center Lovell, Maine, near the White Mountains. He was an enthusiastic mountain climber and had scaled about eighty peaks in this country and abroad, many of them more than once. For many years he was a faithful attendant at meetings of the American Historical Association, the American Society of Church History, and other gatherings of historians.

Charles Downer Hazen, professor emeritus of European history at Columbia University, died on September 18 after a long illness, in his seventy-third year. A native of Vermont, Professor Hazen was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1889 and pursued his studies at Johns Hopkins, Göttingen, Berlin, and Paris. He received his doctorate from Johns Hopkins in 1893, a short form of his thesis, "The French Revolution as seen by the Americans of the Eighteenth Century", being published in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1895. Two years later the full work, *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution*, appeared as a Johns Hopkins study. Appointed to teach history at Smith College the year following his doctorate, Professor Hazen began the preparation of his well-known textbook, *Europe since 1815*, published in 1910. He rose to the headship of his department, lectured at Columbia and at Johns Hopkins, and became a regular member of the Columbia history department in 1916. From that time until his retirement in 1937 he gave the graduate courses dealing with the French Revolution and Napoleon. His listeners remember the clarity, fairness, and wisdom that characterized Professor Hazen's treatment not only of the troubled period that was his field but of the many contradictory theories concerning it. Members of his seminar look back with grateful feelings to the gentle yet uncompromising thoroughness with which he criticized the papers on the circumscribed topics that he assigned for practice preparatory to fresh research. Whether it was Talleyrand's mission to England or Condorcet's financial views, Professor Hazen had the details at his fingertips and could, without notes, catch up the hasty or inaccurate worker on matters as slight as the publication date of a secondary source or as mechanical as the sum total of a budgetary item. He called, moreover, for the same precision and elegance that distinguished his own prose and stressed the illustrative rather than substantive use of quotation—an art which gave his textbooks no less than his final volumes on the French Revolution (1932) their special vividness and charm. In 1920, at the invitation of the French government, Professor Hazen lectured at the newly reorganized University of Strasbourg and was decorated, two years later, as chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Among his numerous

publications, special mention must be made of the valuable edition of William Roscoe Thayer's *Letters*, which he completed in 1926.

The death of James Westfall Thompson on September 30 took from the historical profession an American pioneer in medieval studies and one of its most colorful, influential, and admired members. He was proud to trace his academic lineage back from Von Holst in the department of history of the new University of Chicago to Von Ranke. His doctoral dissertation, written under Benjamin Terry on the *Development of the French Monarchy under Louis VI, le Gros, 1108-1137*, established him at once as an important new medievalist. Dr. Thompson was born in Pella, Iowa, on June 3, 1869. After graduation from Rutgers in 1892 his whole academic career from 1893 until 1932 was spent at the University of Chicago, beginning as an assistant in history and ending as professor of medieval history. From 1932 until his retirement in 1939 he was Sidney Hellman Ehrmann Professor of European History at the University of California in Berkeley. Here in congenial surroundings he found the opportunity to prolong both his research and his contacts with students, things that were dear to him as life itself, were indeed his whole life. Professor Thompson's bibliography is an impressive and significant list. His closest friends and admirers might regret that he did not pay more attention to accuracy in details and to the evenness of his written style, but against these lapses may be set the solidity and volume of the material which he brought to the English-reading student. His series of articles on various aspects of medieval German history which were collected under the title of *Feudal Germany* have remained until very recently the only important material of their kind in the English language. Professor Thompson always felt that this was his best work. His two volumes on the *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages* are inclusive compilations of valuable and attractive material. They show his tremendous industry, his insight, and his humanity. His participation in the writing and publication of the *Mediaeval Library* made available much material difficult of access. What promises to be a monumental work on the *History of Historical Writing* was finished before his death, and it is not difficult to imagine how much it will help both students and professors concerned with historiography. This enumeration omits a great many titles that appeared over his name. A complete bibliography would show how learned Professor Thompson was in other than the medieval fields. Yet to many his memory will be cherished primarily for his gifts as a teacher and for his loyalty as master and friend. The dramatic quality of his lectures, even to graduate students in his course on historiography, and his continuous enthusiasm for the Middle Ages never failed to kindle anew the minds and imaginations of his students even after years of association with him. When once one penetrated the protective brusqueness of his manner and sought him in the quiet of his study, one found him the warm, kindly, and considerate human

being who, if urged, might talk of his own poetry. He was proud of all his students and loyally and persistently sought to place them in the work for which he had trained them. Those who knew him intimately appreciated that his pursuit of learning was enlightened by a liberal and humanitarian attitude toward the world about him. Students and friends alike paid tribute to him in the *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson*. These labors and these qualities, together with his share in the foundation of the Mediaeval Academy of America, brought him finally the presidency of the American Historical Association. He looked forward to the Chicago sessions, with an opportunity to meet former colleagues and students, as a cherished climax to his career. Many of those who missed him there felt that a friend, a beloved teacher, and a distinguished fellow worker had departed.

Miss Esther Uhl McNitt, chief of the Division of Indiana History, State Library, Indianapolis, died in Logansport, Indiana, on October 1 after a long illness. She was a graduate of Vassar College and of the New York State Library School, now the Library School of Columbia University. She had been on the staff of the Division of Indiana History since 1913 and chief of the division since 1923.

Professor George H. Ryden, head of the department of history in the University of Delaware and state archivist, died on October 12 at the age of fifty-seven. Dr. Ryden was born in Kansas and was graduated from Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois. He received his doctor's degree from Yale University, where he held the Currier Fellowship. He served in the World War in educational work on the Italian front and was decorated for his services by the Italian government. His later work with the Red Cross among Russian refugees was recognized by further decorations, and in 1938 he was given the North Star of Sweden. After a year at Oxford University (1921-22) he returned to teach one year at Dartmouth. Since 1923 he had held a professorship in the University of Delaware. Dr. Ryden was the author of *The Foreign Policy of the United States in Relation to Samoa and Delaware, the First State in the Union*. He also edited *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney*.

The death of Dean Emeritus Shailer Mathews on October 23 closed a half century of activity as teacher, administrator, and writer. Long identified with the Divinity School of the University of Chicago and with the religious work department of Chautauqua Institution, he was best known to historians for his brief and widely used volume on the *French Revolution*, published first in 1901 and revised and reprinted many times since.

The many younger historical scholars whose researches have been forwarded by awards of fellowships from the John Simon Guggenheim Me-

morial Foundation will learn with regret of the death on November 2 of Senator Simon Guggenheim, the industrialist and philanthropist whose gift made possible their year of freedom to work on the project of their own choice.

Senator Gaetano Mosca, well known for his work as a political scientist and historian of political theory, died in Rome on November 9 at the age of eighty-three. An upholder of representative government, he is yet credited with being the first to formulate the theory of the ruling class.

Professor Charles E. Chapman of the University of California died on November 18. A more extended notice will appear in the April issue.

Dr. Halvdan Koht, the distinguished Norwegian historian, has taken up his residence in Washington after resigning as minister of foreign affairs in November, 1940. Dr. Koht has resumed his historical studies, broken only by lecture engagements at universities. His notes, papers, and house in Oslo were seized by the Nazis, and his books are barred in Norway.

The following specialists in various fields of history are on leave from their institutions for service to the government in Washington: Eugene N. Anderson, American University; Elizabeth H. Armstrong; Sinclair W. Armstrong, Brown University; James P. Baxter, 3rd, Williams College; James F. Clarke, College of Idaho; Theodore Cohen; Marshall Dill, jr.; Walter L. Dorn, Ohio State University; Donald M. Dozer, University of Maryland; Charles B. Fahs, Pomona College and Claremont Colleges; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Oscar J. Falnes, New York University; John S. Fox; Richard N. Frye; Harold W. Glidden; James F. Green, Foreign Policy Association; Dorothy P. Jackson; Milan W. Jerabek; Sherman Kent, Yale University; William Koren, jr., Princeton University; William L. Langer, Harvard University; Phyllis Leroy; Arthur J. Marder; Donald C. McKay, Harvard University; Gaudens Megaro, Queens College; Henry C. Meyer, Hartford Junior College; Martin R. Norins; Reginald Parker; David H. Pinkney; Laud R. Pitt; Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania; Charles F. Remer, University of Michigan; Geroid T. Robinson, Columbia University; Carl E. Schorske; Richard P. Stebbins, Institute for Advanced Study; Lewis V. Thomas, University of Chicago; Daniel Thorner; Wayne Vucinich; Harold R. Weinstein, Brooklyn College; Thomas P. Whitney, Bennett Junior College; Rudolph A. Winnacker, University of Nebraska; Edwin M. Wright, Brooklyn College; Walter L. Wright, jr., Roberts College.

Dr. Harold C. Vedeler of the University of Idaho is visiting professor of European history at the University of Nebraska. He is taking the place of Professor Rudolph A. Winnacker, who is among the historians in government service at Washington.

The following leaves of absence are noted: *Denison University*, Harvey A. DeWeerd, who is at the Institute for Advanced Study; *University of Kentucky*, Thomas D. Clark and Ellery L. Hall.

Clifford L. Lord, instructor in history at Columbia University, has been appointed the executive director of the New York State Historical Association at Cooperstown. Mr. Lord succeeds Dr. Edward P. Alexander, who left on October 1 to become superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

The following appointments are noted: *University of Buffalo*, Selig Adler as lecturer; *University of California* (Berkeley), Ernst Kantorowicz as lecturer; *Ohio State University*, Foster Rhea Dulles of Swarthmore College as professor for the year; *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*, R. Murray Christian as adjunct professor; *University of Southern California*, Arthur R. Kooker as assistant professor.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *Beloit College*, L. T. Merrill to be associate professor; *University of California* (Berkeley), Robert J. Kerner to be Sather Professor of History; *Howard College*, Wallace M. True to be assistant professor; *Laurence College*, William Bark to be associate professor; *North Carolina State College*, David A. Lockmiller to be professor and L. W. Barnhardt to be associate professor.